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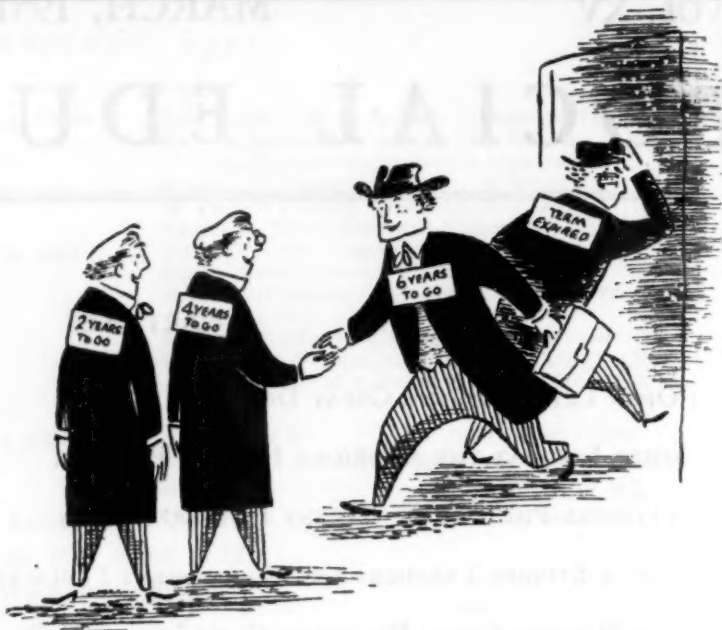
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An Open Letter On The Great Debate

Howard E. Wilson

THE American people are now engaged in what the press calls a "great debate" on American foreign policy. We are all involved in the debate; we and our children will be deeply affected by its outcome. Each of us is responsible for analyzing the issues at stake and for helping to formulate, by the due processes of democratic exchange of views, the policies to which the nation ought to be committed.

The debate to which Acheson, Hoover, Dulles, Truman, Taft, and others have already contributed is not merely a reopening of the old argument over isolationism versus internationalism. We have entered a new phase of the argument, and are now really discussing the nature of the internationalism which is most conducive to our welfare and security. There are echoes of isolationist hopes in the argument but they are of diminishing importance. The discussion presupposes commitments we have made in the past and considers new factors, both expected and unexpected, in the world situation as it now is.

During the last century the United States has become a "world power." The present debate arises from the problems and deals with the responsibilities of the power position. The position is not one which this country deliberately sought. It results from a series of historical developments. Given the size and resources and location and time-span of the United States, it could not avoid a world-power role. Moreover, the relative de-

cline of Great Britain and France left a power-vacuum in which the influence and responsibility of the United States are all the stronger. Not only have we grown into a power role, but we have to operate in that role at a historical moment of momentous transition and uncertainty.

IT is relatively easy to describe the events here and abroad which have thrust the United States into its peculiar position of world power. It is difficult to solve the problems of that role, and it is impossible in 1951 to escape the role itself. It is pleasant to long for the old times, as some seem to do in the present debate, but it is the old times which led us to the present. Nostalgia will not solve our problems. There can be no escape either into the past or from the past.

Among past events are a number of relatively recent commitments to other nations, particularly under the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty. Some of these were and are the subject of controversy, and objective analysis of them needs to be made as part of the great debate. But the commitments are already facts. The clock cannot be turned back on them. We may repudiate them if we desire—but that is repudiation of part of our own past and not merely a new determination of policy. It is too commonly assumed in the debate that the United States can now chart its course in freedom from the past, that we are now writing "on a clean slate." Actually we must consider not only the possible merits of a given new policy but also the probable consequences of inconsistency.

One of the questions most talked about in the debate is that of military strategy for defense. Hopes for a harmonious "one world" which flamed so high at the end of the war have been sobered by the imperialism of Communist Russia—an imperialism characterized by a cultural isolationism which draws "iron curtains" around the Soviet orbit. There is cause for concern that

"This letter," the author writes, "is addressed to fellow educators who are concerned with the present crisis in American history as well as in world affairs. It is presented not so much to convince others as to invite them to join in the debate. It is one man's attempt to reason through the meaning back of the daily headlines."

Dr. Howard E. Wilson is an executive associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

within the coming few years the Russian rulers may proceed to the extreme of a third world war to win their ends. There is the utmost urgency for us to rearm in preparation for a possible struggle more epic than any the world has heretofore known. But in rearmament we should not assume the inevitability of war. Even while we mobilize for military eventualities, it should be our determined policy to explore every possible avenue of peace. Total war would be disaster for all. As is emphasized later in this letter, our political wisdom and moral integrity may ultimately be analyzed in terms of our success in maintaining peace. Discussions of military strategy are necessary but are not the crux of the great debate.

In necessary military planning for defense we need to consider where and under what conditions the fight should be engaged—if it becomes necessary—so as to be most advantageous to us. Russia's hope seems to be to push us into a series of engagements with her satellite areas which may not be strategically important but are sadly exhaustive of our resources. That is what the President has referred to as Russia's "war by proxy." Under those terms the Kremlin decides the time and place of battle. They are terms we should avoid. As Dulles has pointed out, our basic strategy should be to avoid conflicts on the periphery except as they are necessary holding actions, and to concentrate on developing the striking power to take the initiative if and when the conflict reaches its crucial military stages.

HOLDING ACTIONS

WHILE girding ourselves for the possibility of decisive military action, there are vexatious decisions as to where we are willing and able to engage in holding operations. The first such question is that of Korea. Having once taken up arms there, on the highest ground of collective resistance to overt aggression, what sacrifices shall we make to remain there? To withdraw from Korea without compensatory strengthening of ground elsewhere, either politically or militarily, would be a severe psychological loss for the free world. It might be too severe a strain for the United Nations to endure. The consequences of withdrawal have to be weighed against the unhappy cost of fighting to remain. But whatever the outcome in Korea, conflict there is either local or only an early engagement in the full struggle. During the policy debate the Korean question must not loom up as more than it is; it must be seen in perspective. It ought not

be allowed to drag us into a Chinese war that would result in advantage to Russia.

In the meantime, what is to be our policy if the next Communist attack is in Indo-China? Or in Yugoslavia? Or in Iran? Or in Germany? Hoover has suggested withdrawal from all these points, with the Western Hemisphere as a great Gibraltar with island outposts in Britain, Japan, Formosa, and the Philippines. His statement brings to mind the debate of 1940 as to where the Western Hemisphere begins and ends. Hoover has only slightly shifted the ineffective Papal Demarcation Line of 1493. By what stretch of the imagination can the Americas, lying the length of the oceans, be likened to a rock at a narrow point on one great water way? Hoover's proposal would leave the great Eurasian land mass to Soviet influence or actual conquest. If world war comes it is vastly wiser to have western and southern Europe and Asia on our side; if we can keep the people of those areas with us as members of the free world war seems vastly more avoidable.

ALLIES

THE Great Debate involves consideration of allies, both from a military and ideological point of view. We are already committed to a strong neighborhood with the American nations, north and south. No one is questioning this policy. We are already committed to the North Atlantic Treaty, allying us closely with most of the free nations of Europe. The implementation and scope of this agreement are under new scrutiny. In particular, as one of the United Nations we are pledged to principles and plans and—since last June—precedents of collective security involving most of the people of the planet. Our role in the world organization is now also the subject of reconsideration.

To what extent are these commitments sources of strength if war should come? Western Europe is not so strong as we—both Americans and Europeans—would like it to be. The will to fight is not so strong as we may wish among peoples exhausted by two great wars and fearful of seeing their homelands ravaged by a third war. But the strength of Western Europe is substantially greater now than it has been since 1945. As the President has said, "If Western Europe were to fall to Soviet Russia, it would double the Soviet supply of coal and triple the Soviet supply of steel." Basic industrial construction, aided by the Marshall Plan, is showing significant production results. In recent months, Western Europe has

intensified defense preparation, just as we have. While we still discuss the terms of manpower draft, early and long conscription is an accomplished fact in most of friendly Europe. Reports from Eisenhower indicate good prospects for building an army of the western powers. Even for military reasons alone, it would seem wise to cultivate rather than to abandon the strength of Europe.

TO WHAT extent is our alliance with the nations of the free world a source of strength for avoiding a war of global proportions? There are long-range political as well as immediate military reasons for cultivating our alliances. They may be means of avoiding war, they are certain to be involved in developments following the present emergency. Western Europe and much of Asia are, in the last analysis, our ideological allies. Communism is now on the defensive in Western Europe. With increasing economic and military strength, and with the contrast between Communism and Democracy drawn with greater clarity, the spirit of crusade may flame again in Western Europe as it has repeatedly in the past. The very doctrine of neutralism, rooted in European fears, is in some ways a last spasm of escapism. The rising nationalisms of Asia may be identified with democracy, as nationalism and democracy were identified in America somewhat more than a century ago. The alliances to which we are committed are a source of strength for the kind of world we want to live in, whether war comes or peace can be preserved.

Certain characteristics of modern civilization must be considered in connection with our relations with other nations. The actuality is that civilization as we know it has become international. It is impossible to seal off part of the world, either the United States or the Western Hemisphere, and expect civilization to be maintained or to develop further within the isolated area in the way it is now maintained and developed. The ultimate insecurity of Russia is that she isolates herself and her people from so many sources of growth. Since Russia insists on drawing iron curtains about her segment of the world, we should be denied access to many of the springs of civilization were she to draw all of Eurasia into her orbit.

International trade in raw materials and manufactured products is a requisite of every modern economy. To limit the area of trade is to diminish the vitality of our economy and that of every

free country. Scientific progress presupposes full communication among scientists; we should slow down the advance of science by curtailing further the area in which that communication exists. To abandon Europe and Asia to the Russian imperialists and iron-curtain devotees would be to limit the area for growth of a free civilization. And growth is essential to civilization. When it stops growing it dies—as the Soviet will learn in time. The wider and more fruitful the range of its contacts, political and economic and cultural, the greater the vitality of free civilization. This fact has no mean political significance.

IF WE are committed to the belief that an alliance of free powers is a source of strength, the allied powers must be involved in the formulation of policy. Alliance is a limitation on national will, justifiable today since our power is limited. In a sense, our allies throughout the free world are parties to the Great Debate—or the "Greater Debate" as it is sometimes called. Their opinions, fears, hopes, and attitudes toward the alliance must be considered in the argument. Some participants in the debate seem to lose sight of this fact, to assume that we alone make international policy and that others should line up behind us. If one outcome of the debate is to put the Secretary of State in a position where he cannot listen to the counsel of allies, it is likely that there will be fewer allies for us to count on. The desires of our allies have to be considered in the determination of our own desires. If negotiation, even with our own allies, is denounced as appeasement—as it is by some parties to the present argument—we may not ultimately have allies to negotiate with. In a sense, the Great Debate is a test of whether we can "play on an international team" or not. If we refuse to support the United Nations except when we have our own way, or if we cooperate with the Atlantic nations only when we "call the plays" we shall drain that "reservoir of good will" of which Willkie wrote. Sensitive consideration of the counsel of allies, even as the debate progresses, is an evidence of political maturity.

The Great Debate, reverberating with political and military and economic arguments, cannot be decided without reference to moral factors. In the long range of history these outweigh others in their consequence. Russian propaganda seeks to convince the world that Communism is the custodian of the values essential to modern life; it rants against us as materialistic, selfish, inhumane, decadent. It shouts that we are the

warmongers and imperialists. But the free world is custodian of values tested in history which gain in merit by comparison with the actualities of life under the Russian system. We are pledged to the dignity and worth of individuals; to every individual freedom commensurate with social safety; to the advancement of human welfare; to life under law; to free communication; to the widest possible distribution of the products of industry, science, and scholarship.

IT IS because these ideals are the mainsprings of our way of life and are so universally appealing to mankind that they are our strongest weapons. A program for improving the "conditions of civilized living" throughout the world is of first importance in our foreign policy. We will take the offensive in the campaign against communism and strike our strongest blows for peace as we develop and support programs such as are embodied in the constructive work of the Economic and Social Council, the World Health Organization, Unesco, and other agencies. Programs of economic development, of fundamental education, of conquest of disease, of improvement of living conditions, of freedom of speech and thought and religion, of better human relations are the most effective elements in long-range foreign policy. They are moral in the highest sense. To reduce our efforts in these programs, even in a mobilization emergency, is short-sighted. It is to these moral ends and in these welfare programs that full mobilization should be directed in order to guarantee and extend the security of our way of life.

Considering all the factors which are involved in the Great Debate, a number of interrelated policy decisions must be made. The argument advanced in this letter leads to the conclusion that, as "planks in the platform" of a foreign

policy developed in the best interest of the United States, we should:

1. Mobilize our military and industrial power for the emergency of possible war, but seek every means of maintaining peace without sacrifice of essential values.

2. Maintain our position in Korea as long as it can be defended without jeopardizing our military strength; take the earliest opportunity to develop in such areas of free Korea as can be held a reconstruction program which will be a demonstration to the world of the values of a democratic life.

3. Avoid being jockeyed into a war with Communist China (except as it is recognizably a part of the "third world war"), and seek to alienate the Chinese people from their Russian overlords.

4. Cooperate wholeheartedly with other nations of the Western Hemisphere, but not in any sense for hemispheric isolation.

5. Continue close cooperation with allies under the North Atlantic Treaty without hampering allied military authorities in decisions as to the wisest use of available manpower and materiel.

6. Support the United Nations as a forum for international discussion, as an agency for planning the kind of peace which may endure, and as an alliance strong enough to experiment with processes of collective security.

7. Carry out extensive and urgent programs for economic and social development in underprivileged areas.

8. Develop on the widest possible scale a system of free communication for the two-way interchange of ideas and information in order that a real community of thought and value may be strengthened among the peoples of the free world.

HOWARD E. WILSON

Another Look at the American History Program

Floyd B. Bolton

IN 1944 the Committee on American History—representing the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies—recommended that each of the three cycles of American history place major emphasis on different chronological periods. In the middle grades about two-thirds of the time would be devoted to the colonial period. About two-thirds of the time of the junior high school cycle would be used to study the period from 1776 to 1876. Whereas the senior high school cycle would survey all of American history, 50 percent of the course would treat of history since 1865.

THE CONTINUING PROBLEM

THE purpose of this recommendation was to alleviate the deadening effect of three repetitions of almost the same material organized in about the same way. Most teachers of senior high school American history will agree that the typical pupil enters their classes with the attitude that he is well acquainted with the subject and it is preposterous that he should be required to take it again. The need for a change is admitted. But in arriving at its recommendation, the Committee made two questionable assumptions; (a) that most pupils would finish high school; and (b) that almost all schools have a first cycle.

Consider the assumption that almost all pupils will finish high school. The percentage of all youth which graduates from high school varies from city to city and from region to region. According to the U. S. Office of Education, in the nation as a whole, 58 out of every 100 youngsters drop out of school before graduating from

high school.¹ In a report to the Forty Club on October 2, 1950, Superintendent Ernest M. Hanson of Pueblo, Colorado, presented data which show that for the past ten years in 23 upper Mississippi Valley cities the twelfth-grade class at the beginning of the senior year contained on the average 67.6 percent of the number of pupils entering the ninth grade three years before. Since these cities range in population from 50,000 to 199,000, it may be presumed that their high schools offer a wide variety of programs, which is probably one reason why the percentage is larger than that reported for the nation.

ALL schools do not have three cycles of American history, and the first cycle is the one that seems least well established. Cartwright states that "evidence with regard to the first cycle is less readily available, but . . . it appears to have been nearly universal by 1920."² Other evidence suggests that the first cycle is much less than universal. For example, in 1941 Bruner and others concluded from the courses of study which were submitted to Teachers College, Columbia University, that the most common pattern of social studies in the intermediate grades consisted of world geography in the fourth grade; a mixture of social problems, American history, and United States geography in the fifth grade; and world geography in the sixth grade.³ This statement suggests that where history is included in the intermediate curriculum, it is correlated with geography. Since the total time allotted to social studies each day seldom will exceed 45 minutes,

¹ *Statistical Summary of Education*. Table 29. Quoted in *Why Do Boys and Girls Drop Out of School, and What Can We Do About It?* Circular No. 269. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950. p. 7.

² Cartwright, William H. "Evolution of American History in the Curriculum." *The Study and Teaching of American History*. Seventeenth Yearbook. Washington: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1947. p. 31.

³ Bruner, Herbert, and others. *What Our Schools Are Teaching*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1941. p. 134-37.

In this article, the author, supervisor of social studies in the East Chicago Public Schools, reexamines the problem of how to avoid repetition in the three cycles of the American history program. *Social Education* invites your reactions to Mr. Bolton's proposals.

extensive study of history is impossible. In such combined courses, the colonial period and the westward movement usually are the only topics given much attention. But there are an appreciable number of schools which offer only geography or social problems in these grades.

Even if the first cycle were universal, the proposal to assign to the first cycle the major responsibility for a period of our history would be questionable because experience seems to indicate that young pupils lack the social experience which is basic to understanding social relationships. Many of the fundamental concepts of the American system have their origin in our early history. Adequate understanding of them may not be expected to result from study by elementary pupils. In fact, it is doubtful if intermediate pupils are mature enough to gain even a superficial understanding of a social order. Even at the junior high school level only the more capable pupils seem to be able to make the synthesis which is fundamental to any comprehension of a historical period. For example, how can pupils be expected to understand why the founders of this country chose to establish a republic, or why the people of that era chose *laissez faire* in preference to mercantilism, before they can comprehend the social order that these systems were designed to improve? Attempting to do so may create "lip" loyalty to democracy, but such loyalty is easy to transfer to any system which claims to be more democratic.

PROPOSED SOLUTION

A MORE feasible three-cycle organization of history would be to use three different approaches rather than three different assignments: the first cycle to use the anecdotal approach; the second to use the topical approach; and the third to use the chronological approach.

The anecdotal approach to history was common in the intermediate grades twenty-five years ago. In a sense this approach to history is as old as folklore. The anecdotal approach needs little motivation. If even the best intermediate histories are placed on an elementary classroom bookshelf by the side of such stories as one of the Wheeler Publishing Company's American Adventure Series, the anecdote will be chosen by at least twenty pupils for every pupil who chooses a history. Says Mary G. Kelty when discussing the content for the middle grades: "The types of content most favorably voted and commented upon are (1) stirring narrative or action and (2) intimate colorful description of people living un-

der varied conditions."⁴ The anecdotal approach can help greatly to develop that love of our country which the public expects history to generate.

THE topical organization of history has had many proponents, but usually it has been recommended for the third cycle. In fact there have been several high school texts written that have used this approach to some extent. There also have been suggestions to use the topical approach in earlier grades. In 1937, at a meeting of the Mississippi Education Association, Howard E. Wilson proposed the use of topical units as early as the fourth grade where he suggested the use of three units on the rise of farming.

Topical units seem particularly appropriate for use in the junior high school where pupils generate great enthusiasms. Among these adolescent interests are some, such as interest in transportation, warfare, clothing, which can be used as the subjects of topical units. Such topical units should be especially valuable to introduce the idea of continuity (which has long been recognized as one of the two contributions of scientific history to the curriculum), because it is easy to show the contribution of one epoch or of one region to another when only one aspect of development is being considered. Topical units can be used to teach historical method, the other contribution of scientific history, as well or better than chronological organization.

In the program that is being proposed, the third cycle would be essentially the same as it has been for the last few decades—that is chronological history with somewhat greater emphasis on recent history. Likewise, the Committee on American History did not propose any significant change at this level. There should be a real change, however, in the attitude of pupils toward senior high school American history. Instead of being the least popular of the several courses,⁵ it should be among the most popular for several reasons. In the first place, pupils would be more mature and because of wider social experience they should be able to understand, to some extent at least, society with its great complexities. Since they would be more nearly ready for the understanding they are ex-

(Continued on page 114)

⁴ Kelty, Mary G. "The Middle Grades Program: Articulation with the Upper Grades." *The Study and Teaching of American History*. 17th Yearbook. Washington: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1947. p. 227.

⁵ Bolton, Floyd B. "The Attitude of High School Pupils Toward History." *The Social Studies* 28:217-18; May 1937.

Educational Philosophy: Recent Interpretations

Theodore Brameld

ALTHOUGH the educational profession suffers chronically from internal disagreements, confusions, and cross-purposes, there is at least one belief upon which it apparently agrees to a large extent. This is the belief that the programs and practices of every school rest upon a philosophy of education, and therefore that one of the first things any good school should do is to enunciate its own philosophy as a guide to what it does or hopes to do.

QUALIFIED AGREEMENT

EVEN this considerable agreement is, however, more qualified than one might at first suppose. For one thing, the "scientists of education" continue to exercise such dominant influence over teacher-training institutions as frequently to subordinate all other interests to fact-finding research in curriculum or administration, to mechanistic psychology, statistics, or to kindred specializations. Indeed, the only important exception to the general recognition of philosophy's legitimate place in educational training comes from a minority of these scientists—probably now a decreasing minority—who maintain that philosophy is merely a hang-over from the prescientific age, something esoteric and useless to be dismissed as mere "metaphysics."

For another thing, the importance attributed

to the philosophy of education verbally is incommensurate with the attention given to it actually. Not very many faculties, for instance, hammer out their own underlying assumptions—their premises and purposes—with the patience that is necessary if the result is to affect their programs in any significant way. Some administrators prepare a brief "credo" which is handed to new teachers, who then file it away. Others utter generalities, at appropriate moments, about "the dignity of personality" or "democracy" that sound pleasant but, minus exacting definitions, mean almost nothing. By and large, teachers as well as administrators are impatient with basic theory because zealous to move on to practice.

BUT the most serious qualification in the agreement about philosophy's importance to education results from lack of agreement as to *what* particular philosophy is being talked about. This lack is, in part, a consequence of the qualifications mentioned above. So long as the "scientists of education" control teacher-training, their graduates will continue to enter the profession ill equipped to perceive the differences in values or other beliefs that actually cut deep beneath the surface. Again, so long as administrators do not enlist the cooperation of parents and students, as well as teachers, in the arduous job of determining together what they are really doing and aiming to do, their schools will continue to reveal the appalling confusion mirrored in the recent "education issue" of *Life* magazine—a perfect symbol of how imperfectly theory and practice gear into one another.

The differences that pervade the philosophy of education today are by no means solely due, however, to neglect or superficiality. Quite the contrary; they are also due to the fact that this field is now receiving more serious attention than in any period of our educational history. When the assumptions of school practice are scrutinized in the way they must be scrutinized if they are to be clarified and not obscured, the result is often astonishing and still more often disturbing.

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What at first glance appeared to be a simple problem of definition, for example, proves to be far from simple. The very same words may mean two or three entirely different things in the outlooks of two or three different educators.

Nor is the problem merely one of distinguishing the various meanings that underlie verbal similarities. Clearly, the most pressing of all problems is that of determining which meanings to accept: as reliable signposts on the road of day-to-day activity in classroom or community. Merely to answer that, since equally competent authorities hold different conceptions, therefore one is as good as another, is an evasive answer. No responsible member of the educational profession can avoid deciding *why* he accepts one set of meanings as against another. It is just because the task is so difficult that he needs to familiarize himself with the major *philosophies*—not merely philosophy—of education now contending for positions of dominance over American schools and colleges. Fortunately, a number of recent books devote themselves to this task.

LITERATURE

THE second, revised edition, of Professor John S. Brubacher's *Modern Philosophies of Education*¹ is especially helpful for its comparison of the chief positions viewed both as a whole, and in terms of the specific concepts that undergird each position. More than this, Brubacher properly relates educational philosophy to other great areas of life—economics, politics, religion, and others—and thereby demonstrates that many of the issues that perplex citizens and scholars elsewhere in our culture equally perplex educators.

A different kind of effort to survey the field critically is to be found in the symposium of the Ninth Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion: *Goals for American Education*, edited by Professors Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver.² The book brings together some twenty essays, not only by professional philosophers of education (these are, indeed, a minority), but by outstanding scholars in the natural and social sciences. The total effect is hardly one to assure any genuine meeting of minds in the immediate future. One does, however, sense a strong consensus among the writers and their commentators that education faces a serious interval of readjustment which is bound up with the emergency in contemporary national and international affairs.

In both Brubacher's volume and the symposium, the types of major philosophies could be classified around two great categories—first, those that conceive of education as grounded in absolute and universal principles that remain changeless in their essential character; and, second, those that conceive of education as inextricable from the evolutionary and dynamic processes of cultural history. Within each of the two categories are, of course, a variety of subtypes. Also, it is not difficult to discover efforts that would encompass both major types if they could. But, as a rule, the most carefully thought out positions (which also usually exert the strongest influence upon practice) ultimately align with one or the other of these two over-all positions.

THE former of the two—the absolute and universal—has not been represented comprehensively by any American writer for several years. The leaders of the conference responsible for *Goals for American Education* would be likely to weigh the symposium on this side, and they have probably done so. But none of the contributors have opportunity to present much more than a few samples of their thought.

Also to be noticed under this category is Professor J. Donald Butler's *Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion*.³ The bulk of the book is a clear exposition of common philosophic classifications—naturalism, idealism, realism, and pragmatism—but only in the final chapter does the author give his own "confession of faith": a philosophy of theistic religion based primarily upon the oft-repeated tenets of objective idealism. The work is more useful than some conventional textbooks in its attention to the formal philosophic bases of education and religion. But, typical of others holding a similar position, it lacks any concern for or apparent knowledge of a science such as anthropology, which would have helped to determine why men living together in various ages have developed different philosophic systems in order to provide needed rationales for various cultural orders. Rather, the student is led to suppose that such systems are spun mostly from the web of man's speculative powers, each for its own sake. In his account of pragmatism, to be sure, the author cannot totally ignore the cultural context of ideas, but at no time, even here, does he suggest that pragmatism (or objective idealism, for that matter) is itself inseparable from that context, and

¹ New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950.

² New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

³ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951.

hence should be evaluated in terms of its own adequacy as interpreter of and guide for the culture from which it springs.

The second of the two, the evolutionary and dynamic category, is represented by five books within scarcely a year—all of them more or less deliberate exponents of the orientation ignored by Professor Butler. Only one, *The Education of Free Men*, by Professor Horace M. Kallen,⁴ is written by a philosopher not primarily identified with a teacher-training institution. An educational manifesto by one of America's leading pragmatists, it is perhaps more impressive for its wealth of direct and indirect quotations from a rich vein of sources than for originality.

Another book, Professor John L. Childs' *Education and Morals*,⁵ is likewise in the direct pragmatist tradition, but it reveals quite understandably a closer familiarity with the field of professional education than does Kallen's. The title is carried consistently throughout as the theme, for it is Childs' belief that all education involves profound choices between alternative moral outlooks. His own choice, of course, is that of democracy interpreted as the intelligent or experimental way of life. Therefore, as does Kallen also, he opposes all brands of absolutism, be they religious or political. He insists that education, like culture, is on the threshold of a "new age"—a phrase he repeats or paraphrases often—but one looks in vain for a precise spelling out of what the characteristics of the "new age" ought to be like in order to know what definite psychological and sociological purpose the methods of education might then be governed by. It is true that Childs often starts to spell them out, but he seldom if ever rewards anticipation. No doubt he does not do so because, as an able and articulate exponent of a philosophy of cultural "transition," he is more concerned with the processes of development itself than with the desirable products of the transition.

IF IT be fair to assert that *Education and Morals* is primarily the restatement of an already familiar position, this would not be a fair appraisal of still another volume in the evolutionary-dynamic frame of reference. Written by a quartet of educational philosophers (Professors R. Bruce Raup, George E. Axtelle, Kenneth D. Benne, and B. Othanel Smith), *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence*⁶ was first published

in a limited edition in 1943. It made such an impression on the few readers fortunate enough to obtain it that we may regard its reappearance as an important new event for American education. The problem of the book is peculiarly relevant to the crisis of our time: the development and application of an experimental social method for the solution of economic, political, racial, and other kinds of conflict. Raup and his colleagues believe that it is possible without coercion to develop "communities of persuasion" among groups beset by hostility, prejudice, self-interest, and they provide the sharp theoretical tools by which the practical task might be effected. That the task is difficult they do not for a moment deny; yet one could reasonably inquire whether, as liberals governed by much the same assumptions as Kallen and Childs, they fully appreciate its scope or depth. One is not wholly clear, for example, whether the four collaborators examine sufficiently the unrational, explosive forces generated both by individuals and classes—forces diagnosed so acutely by a Freud in the one case, by a Marx in the other.

THE remaining two books were published in the past year by Professor Theodore Brameld. *Ends and Means in Education—a Midcentury Appraisal*⁷ is a collection of essays on controversial themes ranging all the way from the issue of federal control of education to teachers' unions. Each essay is based upon a theory called "reconstructionism"—a philosophy the author believes is required to correct certain deficiencies in the general position exemplified by the three volumes mentioned above.

This philosophy is developed more systematically and fully in the other volume—*Patterns of Educational Philosophy*.⁸ Brameld maintains that educators and citizens may choose among four large educational-cultural patterns in building their schools: essentialism (a philosophy of cultural "conservation"); perennialism (a philosophy of cultural "regression"); progressivism (a philosophy of cultural "transition," typified perhaps best by Childs' volume); and reconstructionism (a philosophy of cultural "renaissance"). The first two belong mainly within the absolute-universal category, the last two within the other category. His own appraisal of essentialism, perennialism, and progressivism is, of course, by means of his reconstructionist preference—the

⁴ New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949.

⁵ New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950.

⁶ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

⁷ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.

⁸ Yonkers, New York: World Book Co., 1950.

key to which is the conviction that a culture-in-crisis, such as our own, requires radically democratic purposes and commensurate strategies. He recognizes that the progressivist position, especially, has already contributed much to the needed reorientation. But he insists that much more is now needed.

Whether the author supplies the "more" should be debated. Not only should his evaluations of other positions be evaluated critically in turn, but his own preference requires careful scrutiny. Particularly serious is the question of whether reconstructionism can really be made to work in a society such as ours. Is he proposing an educational philosophy and program unacceptable to the controlling forces in most American communities?

A FINAL word should be said about recent literature in general philosophy. Every educational theory depends, quite obviously, upon a steady flow of contributions from thinkers outside as well as inside teacher-training institutions. Of many such volumes only two, of quite different organization but equally suggestive, can be cited by way of example. The first, *Ethics and*

Society, by Professor Melvin Rader,⁹ is a brilliant and lucid examination of the relation, suggested by the title, between two of the most vital concepts in all human experience. The second, *Philosophy for the Future*, edited by Professors R. W. Sellars, V. J. McGill, and Marvin Farber,¹⁰ is a collection of essays by philosophers and scientists of various countries who hold, in general, a "materialist" position. Both books are important as potential resources for education.

They are important, however, not purely or even primarily for "intellectual" reasons alone. Rather, the discussions of contemporary philosophy are integral with the clarification and solution of the acute problems confronting our grim period of danger. In their concern with these problems, social studies teachers could benefit by more attention to the conflicting ideas which inevitably influence their concrete efforts. The philosophy of education, related to general philosophy, is a master-instrument to be ignored only at peril to their own effectiveness as servants of an enlightened citizenry.

⁹ New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1950.

¹⁰ New York: Macmillan Co., 1949.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE AMERICAN HISTORY PROGRAM

(Continued from page 110)

pected to gain, a feeling of achievement would replace the feeling of frustration which present senior high school pupils may have experienced in junior high school classes when the objective of the lesson was "over their heads." In the third place, history is interesting, especially when studied in some detail. Since, presumably, their initial reaction to the course will be more favorable than is the initial reaction at the present time, these more mature pupils, more highly skilled in reading than they were in junior high school, could be directed to fuller accounts than it is possible to include in any text. The cumulative effect of the program should be a much more effective third cycle.

IMPLEMENTATION of such a program depends upon several factors, among which are: courses of study, texts, classroom libraries, and teachers. The course of study plays a major part in determining progression in a given discipline in a given locality. Without the type of understanding of what is to be taught at a given

time which a course of study implies, there will be almost as many programs as there are teachers. A course of study alone is not effective because many teachers, especially in the intermediate and lower junior high school grades, are not specialists and therefore are dependent upon texts for guidance. Since many teachers are dependent upon texts, it is futile to set up courses of study for general use until texts or other materials are provided. On the other hand, publishers are unlikely to bring out books until there is some indication that there will be a demand for them. The answer to this dilemma seems to be for organizations such as the National Council for the Social Studies to recommend the adoption of a program such as has been outlined.

The recommendation of the Committee on American History is the result of such action. This article attempts to point out reasons why this recommendation appears unsound in the hope that the National Council for the Social Studies can be motivated into taking a stand for what is believed to be a better program.

Do Social Studies Teachers Use Government Publications?

Stanley P. Wronski

THE Government Printing Office is the world's largest publishing concern. It sells yearly about 30,000,000 copies of 70,000 different titles. Among the extremely wide range of publications offered, there are usually several which the social studies teacher at any grade level can use advantageously. They range from the easiest "how-to-do-it" variety to scholarly volumes requiring diligent reading attention.

To what extent do social studies teachers make use of government publications? In order to determine the facts about this and other related questions pertaining to the use of government publications, an extensive study was made by the writer with the co-operation of the Minnesota Council for the Social Studies.

THE method of investigation was to make a survey, by the use of a questionnaire, of the extent to which government publications were used by three different groups of social studies teachers during the school year 1948-49. One thousand questionnaires were sent to each of the following three groups of teachers: (a) members of the National Council for the Social Studies; (b) members of various regional (interstate, state, and local) social studies councils; and (c) a select group of social studies teachers in the state of Minnesota. The teachers were selected so that there was no over-lapping among the groups; that, none of the regional council members were also members of the National Council for the Social Studies, and none of the Minnesota teachers were members of either the National Council or of the Minnesota council.

The responses to the questionnaire used in the study are summarized in the following paragraphs.

The author of this article is an assistant professor of social sciences at Central Washington College of Education in Ellensburg.

The number of government publications used by the responding teachers. Probably the most meaningful criterion that can be used in comparing the three groups of teachers participating in the study is the average number of government publications used per teacher. These data are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I. NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS USED BY THREE SELECT GROUPS OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

	Percentage of response to questionnaire	Total publications used	Median no. used per teacher	Mean no. used per teacher	Range of distribution
Members of NCSS	51.3	3186	6	6.9	0-36
Members of regional social studies councils	41.9	2015	5	5.3	0-30
Selected Minnesota social studies teachers	43.5	2045	4	5.0	0-30

As is seen from the table the members of the National Council for the Social Studies were clearly ahead of both the members of the regional councils and the Minnesota social studies teachers in terms of the average number of government publications used per teacher. This superiority of the members of the National Council was consistently maintained throughout nearly all of the comparisons made among the three groups.

Enrollments of schools investigated. A comparison was made between the average number of government publications used per teacher and the enrollment of the school in which they taught. There is no rigid pattern discernible from a study of these comparisons, but in general the teachers in the larger schools—1500 and above enrollments—used more government publications than did those in smaller schools. The lowest average number of publications used per teacher is among those schools with less than 100 enrollment.

Size of classes taught by responding teachers. Contrary to what might be expected the responses to the questionnaire indicated that those teachers with the smallest social studies classes—less than 15, or between 15 and 20—used the fewest number of government publications. Those teachers with average class sizes of 20 to 30 used more publications than did the teachers with larger or smaller class sizes. Incidentally, these data complement the findings of another investigation¹ (summarized in a government publication) according to which social studies teachers regard 25 pupils as the "ideal size" for a class.

Number of social studies classes taught by responding teachers. A comparison between the number of government publications that teachers used and the number of social studies classes they taught reveals that the teachers handling five social studies classes a day used more publications than did those teachers with fewer or more such classes. There is a falling off at both ends of the scale, with the fewest number being used by the teacher handling one social studies class and the next fewest by those with six or more.

Amount of school expenditures for government publications. In no other comparisons in this study has there been such a clear and unmistakably positive relationship as that which exists between the number of government publications used by a respondent and the amount of money his school spends for all government publications suitable for social studies use. The more the schools expend for such publications, the more the social studies teachers use them in class. The ratio is not direct, nor is the general rule applicable to all individual cases. For example, one member of a regional social studies council who used 26 publications during the year taught in a school in which the expenditures for government publications was nothing at all.

Level of training of responding teachers. Teachers with only a bachelor's degree and no further course work usually were the ones who used the fewest numbers of government publications. Even most of those teachers with only a teacher's college diploma, but with additional college work, used more publications than did those with a bachelor's degree. The highest average number of publications used per teacher was among the group of teachers with the Ph.D. degree, but the sample here was very small. Those

with a master's degree or with work beyond the bachelor's used the the next highest average number.

Fields in which respondents received their major educational training. Those teachers with a major in the broad field of the social studies consistently used a higher than average number of government publications. Next came those with straight subject matter majors (history, political science, sociology). The fewest number were used by the social studies teachers who had majors such as physical education, business education, natural sciences, or English.

PROVISION was made in the questionnaire for the responding teachers to indicate how they learned about the government publications which they did use. Here the members of the National Council for the Social Studies showed a distinct superiority by listing a greater number and variety of sources. Most often mentioned was *Social Education* with its monthly department edited by Ralph Adams Brown, "Pamphlets and Government Publications." This excellent listing offers the best information on government publications of any educational periodical intended for social studies teachers.

Many social studies teachers may not have access to Professor Brown's monthly listing in *Social Education*. For such teachers and for those who wish additional sources of information on government publications, two free Government Printing Office publications are recommended. They are (a) the semi-monthly *Selected United States Government Publications*, and (b) the various *Price Lists* containing the publications under 48 different categories, including history, labor, geography and explorations, tariff, political science, and foreign relations. These may be obtained by writing to the Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The extent to which certain teachers, especially the members of the National Council for the Social Studies, utilize government publications is encouraging. However, a substantial number of the respondents (from 12 percent to 22 percent) indicated that they did not use any federal, state, or local government publications. What was worse, some teachers did not seem to have any idea as to how they could learn about and acquire such publications.

State and local government publications are an often-neglected source of much valuable infor-

¹ U.S. Office of Education. *What Teachers Say About Class Size*. Circular No. 311. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949.

Recent Supreme Court Decisions: Cases Involving Federal-State Relations and Rights of an Accused Person

Isidore Starr

THE very interesting problem of the ownership of the lands, oil deposits, and other minerals underlying the Gulf of Mexico came before the Supreme Court in *United States v. Louisiana* (339 U.S. 699-1950) and *United States v. Texas* (339 U.S. 707-1950). In both cases the Court had to settle, among other issues, the important question of the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The suits had been instituted by the government of the United States pursuant to Article III, Section 2, Clause 2 of the Constitution which reads: "In all Cases . . . in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction." Both states contended that, since they had not consented to be sued, the Supreme Court could not entertain the action. However, the Court overruled this argument by stating that it had original jurisdiction in cases brought by the United States against a state, irrespective of that State's consent.

THE government asked the Court to adjudge and declare its rights as against the rights of the two states, to grant an injunction against all who were trespassing in this under-water area, and to require the states to account to the United States for all monies derived by them from the lessees who had been exploiting the area. Justice Douglas wrote the Court's opinion in both cases, finding for the United States Government.

The Court ruled that the three-mile belt and

the ocean beyond that limit are of necessity in the domain of the federal government.

The claim to our three-mile belt was first asserted by the national government. Protection and control of the area are indeed functions of national external sovereignty. . . . The marginal sea is a national, not a state concern. National interests, national responsibilities, national concerns are involved. The problems of commerce, national defense, relations with other powers, war and peace focus there. National rights must therefore be paramount in that area (339 U.S. at p. 704).

THE Texas case raised an additional problem. Since Texas had been an independent republic (1836-1845) prior to annexation to the United States, the argument was made that she had come into the union retaining her ownership over the marginal belt, thereby retaining proprietorship of the minerals under the coastal waters. Although this line of reasoning appealed to three of the Justices (Reed, Minton, and Frankfurter), the majority decided that, when Texas was admitted "on an equal footing with the existing States," she had to subordinate some aspects of her sovereignty to the paramount sovereignty of the federal government. Justice Douglas' opinion, concurred in by Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Black and Burton, emphasized that it is the duty of the federal government to secure the people against attacks by sea, to regulate the health of its citizens, to collect revenue, and to assume treaty and other international obligations. Therefore, national interests often require that property interests in cases of this nature be subordinated to the paramount sovereignty of the national government. It should be observed that the Court speaks of the paramount rights of the United States as against the states, but it does not recognize specifically the claim of ownership of the federal government.

In this, the third and final article in a series of three, the author, a social studies teacher in Brooklyn (N.Y.) Technical High School, summarizes several recent Supreme Court decisions.

RIGHTS OF AN ACCUSED PERSON

ONE of the outstanding characteristics of American democracy is the armory of rights which are reposed in the hands of an accused person to enable him to withstand the pressure of those who seek to disprove his innocence. Four recent decisions delve into this especially significant area: one deals with the idea of a fair and impartial grand jury; two relate to a fair trial by jury; and the fourth interprets the requirement for a search warrant in search and seizure cases.

THE case of *Cassell v. Texas* (339 U.S. 282-1949) is important because it combines racial discrimination with the administration of justice. The petitioner, a Negro, indicted by a Texas grand jury and convicted of murder, contended that his grand jury indictment should be quashed because, since Negroes had been intentionally excluded from the grand jury, his constitutional right to a fair and impartial grand jury had been violated. A section of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, passed pursuant to Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that:

... no person possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The issue confronting the Court was whether Texas had intentionally excluded Negroes from the grand jury which had indicted the petitioner, thereby violating his right to equal protection.

Among the facts adduced in the case was that between 1942 and 1947 there had been 21 grand juries in Dallas County, Texas, and that Negroes had been consistently limited to not more than one for each grand jury. As a matter of fact, not more than 17 Negroes had served on these juries. In addition, the commissioners who had drawn up the grand jury list in this case admitted that they personally knew no Negroes who were qualified for service and that they submitted to the judge the names of only those people with whom they were personally acquainted.

Although four separate opinions were written in this case, seven of eight Justices found for the petitioner (Justice Jackson dissented and Justice Douglas did not take part). The majority found that there had been discrimination in the selection of the grand jury that had indicted the petitioner. Since the commissioners admitted that they "chose only [those] whom they knew, and that they knew no eligible Negroes in an area where Negroes made up so large a proportion of the population," the Court upheld the conten-

tion that there was intentional exclusion of Negroes amounting to a violation of the petitioner's constitutional rights. It was the duty of the commissioners, as judicial administrative officials, to acquaint themselves with the qualifications of all the eligible jurors of the county, regardless of race or color. Surely, it was reasonable to infer that in so large a community as Dallas County, a large proportion of the Negroes could meet the requirements for grand jury service. The failure to ascertain whether there were qualified and available Negroes who were not known personally to the commissioners spells out discrimination.

THE constitutional guarantee of a fair and impartial grand jury extends to the petit jury too, under the Sixth Amendment. The next two cases, *Dennis v. United States* (339 U.S. 162-1950) and *Morford v. United States* (339 U.S. 258-1950), inquire into the important problem as to whether government employees can serve as impartial jurors in cases involving the loyalty of a defendant. In the first case, Dennis, Secretary General of the Communist Party in the United States, was convicted in the District of Columbia of willfully failing to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in compliance with a subpoena duly served upon him. At the trial Dennis protested that it was impossible to obtain a fair and impartial trial in the District of Columbia on the ground that government employees, who constitute a very large segment of the population of the area, could not render a fair verdict. When the motion for transfer of trial was denied, defendant's lawyer challenged for cause all government employees on the ground that they could not render an impartial verdict. It was argued that the President's Loyalty Order (Executive Order 9835) providing for the dismissal of federal employees on grounds of disloyalty had created such an aura of intimidation and surveillance and such a "miasma of fear" that it was unlikely that government employees would vote for acquittal. Such action on their part might mean loss of jobs and the stigma of disloyalty. Seven of the jurymen finally selected were government employees. They had indicated that the loyalty order would not interfere with their rendering a just verdict in this case.

The Court's opinion was delivered by Justice Minton. Justices Reed and Jackson concurred in the result; Justices Douglas and Clark did not take part in the case; and Justices Black and Frankfurter dissented. The majority dismissed

the defendant's contention that he had been denied a fair trial by an impartial jury as guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment. The Court stated that government employees, merely on the basis of their employment, cannot be considered to be biased as a matter of law and should not be barred from jury service in cases of this type. Since there was no proof of actual bias in this case, and since the government employees who served on the jury had stated under oath that they would hand down an honest verdict, the defendant's conviction stands. The Court stated:

Vague conjecture does not convince that government employees are so intimidated that they cringe before their government in fear of investigation and loss of employment if they do their duty as jurors, which duty this same government has imposed on them. There is no disclosure in this record that these jurors did not bring to bear, as is particularly the custom when personal liberty hinges on the determination, the sense of responsibility and the individual integrity by which men judge men (339 U.S. at p. 172).

The dissenting opinions emphasize human nature and the teachings of psychology rather than judicial precedent. Both Justices Frankfurter and Black earnestly believe that, in an atmosphere of loyalty investigations, government employees cannot be impartial jurors in cases where the security of the nation is at stake. In such cases, they conclude, the jurors would tend to vote, consciously or unconsciously, in such a way as to safeguard their reputation for loyalty and their jobs. Justice Black reasons as follows:

Government employees have good reason to fear that an honest vote to acquit a Communist or anyone else accused of "subversive" beliefs, however flimsy the prosecution's evidence, might be considered a "disloyal" act which could easily cost them their job. That vote alone would in all probability evoke clamorous demands that he be publicly investigated or discharged outright; at the very least it would result in whisperings, suspicions, and a blemished reputation (339 U.S. at p. 180).

Justice Frankfurter expounds the same idea in these words:

To recognize the existence of a group whose views are feared and despised by the community at large does not even remotely imply any support of that group. To take appropriate measures in order to avert injustice even toward a member of a despised group is to enforce justice. It is not to play favorites. The boast of our criminal procedure is that it protects an accused, so far as legal procedure can, from a bias operating against such a group to which he belongs. This principle should be enforced whatever the tenets of the group—whether the old Loco-focos or the Know-Nothings, the Ku Klux Klan or the Communists. This is not to coddle Communists but to respect our professions of equal justice to all. It was a wise man who said that there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals (339 U.S. at p. 184).

The Morford case dealt with the same issue,

but the facts were somewhat different. The defendant, Executive Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., was indicted in the District of Columbia for willfully refusing to produce certain documents before the Committee of Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives pursuant to a subpoena served upon him. The trial court had refused permission to defendant's lawyer to question prospective government employee jurors concerning the influence of the "Loyalty Order" on their ability to decide the guilt or innocence of the defendant in an impartial manner. Four government employees served on the jury which decided against the defendant, and he had objected to them as being biased. It should be emphasized that in the Dennis case the court had permitted the questioning of jurors concerning their bias. The Court in a *per curiam* opinion reversed the conviction on the ground that, since the trial court had denied defendant the opportunity to prove actual bias on the part of government employee jurors, the defendant had been denied the right of an impartial jury.

THE case of *United States v. Rabinowitz* (339 U.S. 56-1950) is reminiscent of the issues involved in the historic writs of assistance. The defendant was convicted of selling and possessing and concealing forged and altered postage stamps. After the defendant had sold four of these stamps to a government agent, a warrant was obtained for his arrest, but the officers failed to obtain a search warrant for his place of business. The arrest was made at defendant's place of business where the officers, over his objections, proceeded to search his desk, safe, and file cabinets. Several hundred forged stamps were seized in this way. The two counts on which defendant was indicted and convicted were selling four forged stamps and possessing and concealing several hundred forged stamps. Defendant claimed that the evidence relating to the seized stamps should have been excluded because the search had been made without a search warrant, although the officers had had ample time to procure one. Since the Fourth Amendment precludes unreasonable searches and seizures, the Court was called on to decide whether this case came within that prohibition. Stated more accurately and technically, the issue was whether in making a lawful arrest, the officers may search the premises where the arrest is made without a search warrant, although there was ample time and it was practicable to obtain such a warrant before the "papers and effects" would disappear or be destroyed.

The majority of the Court upheld the government by ruling that the search in this case without a warrant was of a limited nature, incidental to a legal arrest, confined to a one-room place of business open to the public and under the immediate control of the offender. These circumstances, together with the seizure of the forged stamps which in and of itself constituted a criminal offense, make the search a lawful one. As for the case of *Trupiano v. United States* (334 U.S. 699-1948) which had promulgated the principle that search warrants must be obtained when "practicable" in a search incident to an arrest, the Court ruled that the precedent established there is overruled and that the new test is "not whether it is reasonable to procure a search warrant, but whether the search is reasonable."

The impassioned dissent of Justice Frankfurter, in which Justice Jackson joined, is a plea for an understanding of the historical implications of the Fourth Amendment as a basic tenet of our liberties. Having its origin in the abuses perpetuated against the colonies in the pre-Revolutionary era, the words of this Amendment, reads the dissent,

... are not just a literary composition. They are not to be read as they might be read by a man who knows English but has no knowledge of the history that gave rise to the words. The clue to the meaning and scope of the Fourth Amendment is John Adams' characterization of Otis' argument against search by the police that "American independence was then and there born." 10 Adams, *Works* 247. One cannot wrench "unreasonable searches" from the text and context and historic content of

the Fourth Amendment. It was the answer of the Revolutionary statemen to the evils of the searches without warrants and searches with warrants unrestricted in scope. Both were deemed unreasonable. Words must be read with the gloss of the experience of those who framed them. Because the experience of the framers of the Bill of Rights was so vivid, they assumed that it would be carried down the stream of history and that their words would receive the significance of the experience to which they were addressed—a significance not to be found in the dictionary (339 U.S. at p. 69-70).

Justice Frankfurter concludes that, since the right of privacy is sacred and protected by constitutional amendment and judicial decision, invasions of the principles must be strictly construed. Since the officers in this case had more than a week to obtain a search warrant, their failure to do so violated the rights of the offender, regardless of the "shabbiness" of his crime. Justice Black wrote a separate dissent.

IT HAS been the purpose of these articles to bring to the attention of teachers and students of the social studies the facts and the opinions—both majority and dissenting—of some of the important cases decided at the October 1949 term of the Supreme Court. These decisions are significant—not only as aspects of judicial history—but as mature analyses of contemporary problems. They offer teachers a safe and intelligent methodological approach to some of the controversial issues of our day, and therefore deserve a prominent place in our courses of study.

DO SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS USE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS?

(Continued from page 116)

mation for social studies teachers. Most teachers are familiar with such stand-bys as the state legislative manual, directory, or *Blue Book*. There are literally hundreds of other state publications, however, in such areas as conservation, state parks and forests, welfare, health and safety, state history, youth services, industrial development, and population changes. Fortunately for both the student and teacher, an increasing number of these publications are written in an easily understood and readable manner. The Minnesota Department of Business Research and Development, for example, has published an excellent biennial report entitled, *Together . . . Building a Greater Economy for Minnesota*. It is well illustrated, simply written, and has excellent charts and graphs.

Similarly, many local governments are stream-

lining their previously forbidding looking publications. An outstanding example is the 1948 annual report of the city of Milwaukee. Attractive photographs depict the city's accomplishments during 1948, and colored charts outline the structure of the city government.

THIS study on the use of government publications has implications for both the method and content of social studies teaching. Such publications offer to the teacher a windfall of information on almost any conceivable subject. Many of them can be used directly by the students. They may be used by the students to verify statements, check on the accuracy of statistics, corroborate data in textbooks, and in general acquaint them with some of the rudimentary aspects of critical appraisal.

HOW TO DO COOPERATIVE PLANNING

By LORETTA E. KLEE, Cornell University and Director
of Social Studies, Ithaca (N.Y.) Public Schools

Number 9. How To Do It Series

of the

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

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WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

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Price 10 cents per copy. Discounts: 2-9 copies 10%; 10-99 copies 25%; 100 or more copies 33⅓%

Preface: This *How To Do It* notebook series, designed for a loose leaf binder, provides a practical and useful source of classroom techniques for social studies teachers. Elementary and secondary teachers alike will find them helpful. The titles now available in this series are: *How To Use a Motion Picture*, *How To Use a Bulletin Board*, *How To Use Local History*, *How To Use Daily Newspapers*, *How To Use Group Discussion*, *How To Take a Survey of Public Opinion*, and *How To Use Recordings*. Additional titles are in preparation. Suggestions for further titles in this series are welcomed by the National Council for the Social Studies.

REASONS FOR COOPERATIVE PLANNING

Cooperative planning brings boys and girls in as partners in the business of living and learning together. It gives direct experiences in skills of democratic living which are needed in all phases of American life—wherever group purposing, planning, working together, and evaluating are essential. To the extent that it offers certain kinds of opportunities to boys and girls, cooperative planning helps develop positive citizenship. Such opportunities include choice-making in terms of group formulated purposes; adjustment to changing factors in real-life situations; the exercise of self-discipline and individual responsibility; and the modification of self-interests for the common good.

Cooperative planning replaces the traditional "For tomorrow, I want you to . . ." which characterizes the "assign-recite" method, and the more recent but equally ineffective "What do you want to do today?" with "How can we best work this out together?" Under the strictly authoritarian system, there is often tension on the part of both pupils and teacher. This tension often is a block to creative effort on the part of pupils;

they are afraid of not doing the imposed task the "right" way, which usually means the teacher's way. At its best, cooperative planning gives the satisfaction of active participation in experiences which the learner feels to be worthwhile. As a participant, he is likely to draw freely upon his own resources and interests to carry out the plans he has helped to set up. In this release and utilization of individual and group energy there is dual gain. The child grows in self-knowledge as he asks himself: "Where do I fit in here?" "What part can I do best in this job?" The teacher has wide opportunities to understand and guide his pupils as he observes them in the varied activities which are developed through pupil-teacher planning.

ROLE OF THE TEACHER IN COOPERATIVE PLANNING

The role of the teacher in cooperative planning is a variable one, depending upon the social maturity of the pupils and upon the kind of teaching situation in which he is working. In some school systems, the teacher has full freedom to plan curricular experiences to meet the needs of children as he envisions them. Under these

circumstances, he may serve primarily as a resource person to his classes, when students have developed maturity and skills necessary for such a situation. In other schools, the most the teacher can do is to offer pupils opportunities to share with him in broadening and vitalizing an imposed course of study. In any case, the classroom needs to have the social atmosphere of a workshop, laboratory, and sometimes of a library, in which relations among workers are cordial. The teacher should be able and willing to keep open the "lines of communication" among members; to release and utilize, rather than repress, group conflicts and energies; and to encourage full participation in a wide variety of learning experiences which are meaningful and worthwhile to his "junior partners."

ESSENTIALS OF COOPERATIVE PLANNING

An analysis of teacher-learning situations in which cooperative planning has been effectively carried through reveals a number of essential elements. These essentials are:

1. *A problem situation* which has meaning and significance for the group in terms of long-range purposes set up and accepted by them.
2. *A real desire* on the part of the group to do something about the problem.
3. *Shared planning* to meet the problem; possible plans of action considered in terms of hoped-for outcomes.
4. *Preparation of a job-analysis* of what needs to be done.
5. *Inventory of resources within the group* for carrying out responsibilities; within all class groups there are potential artists, photographers, "research" people, interviewers, "experts" in certain skills, experiences and areas of knowledge, writers, reporters, chairmen.
6. *Inventory of sources of help and information outside the class group.*
7. *Delegation and assumption of responsibilities* according to methods set up by the group; voluntary cooperation on the basis of each person's best contribution.
8. *Execution of plans* (will involve replanning, redefining of aims and goals, perhaps reassignment of some responsibilities, and many other adjustments).
9. *Pooling findings:* reporting, displaying realia.
10. *Use and practical applications*, including "follow-up."

11. *Continuous evaluation* through group discussions (entire group and committees), written individual evaluations, and teacher observations.

There is no one *best* way to carry on cooperative planning. Its methods should be as varied as the problems which provide the starting-point for effective pupil-teacher planning. One advantage of the group process is that through its use boys and girls learn how to adjust themselves to changing and unforeseen circumstances. To reduce cooperative planning to a routinized procedure, to a series of "steps," would rob it of this valuable function. Cooperative planning, in the sense of problem-solving, involves certain processes, it is true, but there is no formal pattern for carrying them out. As need arises, the group must redefine, clarify, and make new plans. Evaluation goes on throughout the learning experience and is not a separate phase to be scheduled as the "culminating" activity.

There may be times in cooperative planning when a "stalemate" will develop, as often happens with adult groups. When it does, there is no *one* method to follow any more than in other phases of cooperative planning. In some instances it may be advisable to postpone all related activity for a few days. Again, the most helpful procedure may be to divide the class into small discussion groups so that the boys and girls can talk together face to face, think the problem through, and then make their recommendations to the entire group through delegated "reporters." At other times the whole class as a group, through orderly discussion, may come to grips with the situation which is temporarily blocking all efforts. Wise leadership (to be distinguished from domination) by the teacher, as the most mature member of the group, may sometimes help break the stalemate. In extreme cases, it may even be necessary to admit that the difficulty is unsurmountable.

KINDS OF ACTIVITIES WHICH GAIN IN EFFECTIVENESS THROUGH COOPERATIVE PLANNING

A. GENERAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

When school activities are planned and carried out largely through teacher initiative, many opportunities for experiences in responsible "junior citizenship" are lost to students. There would be gains for all persons concerned if boys and girls had a direct part in planning school projects and carrying them out. It should be clearly understood that simply to assign activities to

boys and girls is not cooperative planning. In all instances there must be, on the part of the pupils, an *understanding* of the *importance* of the enterprise, a real *desire* to participate in it, and a direct share in the planning and ensuing activities. A few examples of activities common to all schools in which cooperative planning can be carried on are suggested here.

1. **CELEBRATION OF HOLIDAYS AND FESTIVALS:** Related activities will vary from simple planning for classroom understandings and observances to those which involve community participation. In Glens Falls (N.Y.), all junior high school pupils cooperate each year in a commemoration of memorable events in local history.¹
2. **SHARING LEARNINGS WITH OTHERS:** *Auditorium* programs; *classroom* activities shared with other groups; *exhibits* of realia used or developed in class activities—"Life in the Plymouth Colony," "Our Local Industries," "How Glass Is Made," "Our Heritage from the Past"; *school report page* to local newspapers.
3. **CARE AND BEAUTIFICATION OF SCHOOL AND GROUNDS:** *Halls and classrooms*—mounting of pictures in "open frames" (discarded frames or those prepared especially for the purpose); *homerooms beautiful*—care of rooms on basis of group formulated standards, beautification of rooms (murals, for example); *grounds*—shrubs, plants, and flowers.
4. **SAFETY MEASURES OF ALL KINDS.**
5. **AID IN SCHOOL SERVICES:** *Keeping absentees* informed of school activities and pupils' parts in them; *assembling and distribution* of supplies; *library services*—preparing bibliographies for class use on the basis of a checklist prepared by pupils and teacher; *radio services*—similar to library and multi-sensory aids services; *audio-visual aids services*—teams operate equipment, service it, and return it to central location after class use; pre-view visual aids; confer with director and keep teacher informed of additions to audio and visual aids available in school system; prepare discussion guides for use with "aids."
6. **FIELD TRIPS AND EXCURSIONS:** Active participation by pupils in terms of purposes set up by them with the teacher; cooperation with members of out-of-school community in making arrangements.

¹ Long, Harold M. "Local History Through Pageantry." *American Heritage* 1:75-7; October 1947.

7. **COOPERATION IN WORTHWHILE CIVIC ACTIVITIES.**
8. **EFFICIENT USE OF CLASSROOMS:** Use of bulletin boards; workshop areas or "corners"; classroom libraries; assembling and distributing reference materials; plans for filing materials; recording borrowings; care for living things in the classroom—plants, animals.
9. **ACTIVITIES TO MEET PERSONAL NEEDS OF PUPILS:** Planning together with school personnel and members of the wider community for *good grooming*—personal cleanliness, clothes suitable for school activities; *adequate diet*—closely geared to teachings and learnings in classes, use of lunch program, parent groups; *wholesome recreation*—cooperation with parents and other community groups, noon-hour and after-school activities, social dancing.
10. **EVALUATION OF SCHOOL SERVICES:** *Check lists* for evaluation prepared by pupils and teacher; *questionnaires* and *opinionnaires* prepared with assistance of pupils; *self-evaluation* by pupils by means of tape recordings of discussions and reports; *action-research*—students keep and use records of individual successes and difficulties to determine value of learning experiences to themselves; analysis by pupils and teacher of individual and group attainments on skills and subject-matter tests as basis for planning kinds of learning experiences to meet real needs.

B. ILLUSTRATIONS OF COOPERATIVE PLANNING IN SOCIAL STUDIES

KINDERGARTEN AND GRADES 1 AND 2

Learning activities in the lower elementary grades, where social studies means "social living," are particularly adapted to group methods. Although planning sessions must be brief, young children can deal effectively on their own terms with such questions as: *Why* should we do these things (take turns, share materials, or listen when another is talking)? *What* needs to be done now? *How* can we do this a *better* way? *When* shall we do these things? *How much time* do we have? *Who* will paint the lion's cage, be the leader of the "farm" group, watch to see how milk bottles are washed at the dairy? *How* shall we *share* what we have learned and done? In these early grades, it is very important that children learn reasons for the many things they are being asked to do.

Activities common to all elementary classes can become the source of valuable experiences in

harmonious living. With a little planning, the prosaic business of "passing out the straws and bottles of milk" in mid-morning can be transformed into "Our Lunch Party." To do so, the group can plan for: get-ready and clean-up teams; a host and hostess at each table; use of napkins; and the practice of many social skills and courtesies. The following "themes" recorded by elementary teachers suggest unlimited possibilities for cooperative purposing, planning, doing, and evaluating on the part of young children and their teachers.

Food, farms, and related activities: let's cook (making butter, jelly, bread, cottage cheese, candy); our county fair; our food market; our flower show; our dairy bar; our white rats; our greenhouse.

Transportation and communication: boats on the lake; our railroad station; our airplane show; our postoffice; let's telephone.

The School: our toy library; our book wagon; our big class book; making our library corner, fun corner, or rest corner; a walk around the school; taking pictures.

Interesting people: the policeman; the fireman; our Chinese boy; cowboys—what are they really like? Bugs Bunny; our new baby at home; Indians.

Homes: the new house; making a concrete step; the steam shovel; our play house; fun at home.

Recreation: our zoo; our circus; trimming the Christmas tree; our class movie; celebrating holidays and festivals.

Brotherhood and sharing: our church; Junior Red Cross; help him walk (March of Dimes); helping lots of people (Community Chest); children in other lands.

Conservation and related activities: our school grounds; feeding the birds; our room beautiful.

THE INTERMEDIATE GRADES (GRADES 3-6)

The wide range of children's interests is indicated in these learning experiences where boys and girls from eight to eleven years of age shared in the curriculum planning:

Food for our community: The care and feeding of four white rats became the focal point for social studies learnings in this third grade where several of the children showed evidences of malnutrition. Teacher and pupils carefully noted results of adequate and inadequate diets on the rats. Together they planned for visits to a nearby dairy, truck farm, and food market. They learned

how and where foods are produced, preserved, and transported. In related experiences, pointed directly at their own physical needs, the children participated in preparing a breakfast and a luncheon to which their parents were invited—they did the marketing, preparing and serving of foods. To extend these learnings into the homes, the boys and girls organized recipe books for their mothers of food which they had learned to like in the school lunch program. In activities as interesting and worthwhile as these, practice communication, number, and social skills grow naturally out of the needs of the learners themselves.

Mario's country: Sixth grade children planned with their teacher for an extensive study of the homeland of one of the "new" boys in the class. Their purpose was "To know more about Mario, his family, and his country." Their investigations were grouped about: Italy (Mario's country) long, long ago; Italy today; the people, products, and industries of Italy; why Americans are interested in Italy. Work groups included pupils who were responsible for assembling, using, and distributing reference materials and construction materials; borrowing and directing the use of audio-visual aids; correspondence (all children wrote letters to Mario's friends and relatives); recording and displaying information (table displays, glass slides, art forms—posters, clay and plasticene models); written and oral communication; Italian music to be enjoyed and sung by the class; and plans for trips to the local airport and railroad station. In reporting these activities, the teacher said:

We discovered that we needed about an hour a day for these social studies learning activities. Clean-up habits were most difficult to establish and they needed constant checking by the pupil chairmen. We found it helpful to designate definite places for all materials. Because of the shortage of space, we resorted to large cardboard boxes placed under work tables.

These children seemed to have considerable ability in setting up their plans and standards of action, but I found that they needed patient, sympathetic understanding on the part of the teacher to see their plans through.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

In the following illustrations, junior high school pupils demonstrated imagination and resourcefulness in going out into the community for information and a high degree of responsibility in following their plans through to practical, worthwhile conclusions.

Mohawk Valley excursion: Edith Laue's eighth-grade class recently planned and carried out a

two-day excursion through the Mohawk Valley.² Having formulated their purposes, they "delves into library materials, chartered a bus, wrote letters for guides, made hotel reservations, and prepared a tentative expense account." As an outcome of the experiences, Miss Laue says: "The fact that these eighth graders challenged some of the values and methods used by their forebears was evidence that they had faced reality and were doing some thinking in their understanding of the 'American Heritage.'"

In other schools, junior high school pupils have participated actively with many persons in the local community in experiences which involved intensive search for and the recording of folklore;³ investigation of original documents in relation to hearsay about the treatment of Confederate soldiers in a Civil War prison camp;⁴ and surveys and experimentation developed around studies in economics.⁵ Concerning this last study, the teacher wrote:

Perhaps it is enough to point out, by way of summary, that when boys and girls are given an opportunity to assist in planning their learning activities around problems which are meaningful and purposeful to them, they gain much more of economic value than a knowledge of "facts and figures." It is our hope that the wholesome, constructive attitudes developed through this study will be expressed in an intelligent use of goods and services as these young people continue to plan their spending and saving as American consumers.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Even in senior high schools where the content of social studies courses is circumscribed by state examinations and college entrance requirements, many opportunities can be found to make American and world history courses more meaningful and functional through cooperative planning. The following illustrate the kinds of pupil-teacher planning in which the writer has been a participant.⁶

Diagnosis of individual and group needs: Studies of strengths and weaknesses (skills, knowledge, attitudes, ability to deal with con-

temporary problems) as revealed on tests, tape recordings, written reports, and attitude surveys. Students can participate actively in building and analyzing these diagnostic measures. Methods of study and investigation take on increased meaning and significance when the teacher and pupils unite their efforts to diagnose needs, make long-range plans to meet the problems revealed, and then work together in a variety of ways to strengthen weaknesses and to capitalize upon abilities and interests.

Continuous units in the study of current events: Cooperation in choosing problems to be studied throughout the year; survey of sources of information; assembling materials for study in the classroom and library; assuming responsibilities for complete coverage; planning a variety of reports and discussions; evaluating methods and results according to group standards.

Curriculum planning in relation to required courses: The teacher who has experienced the richness and practicality of senior high school courses in which active pupil participation has been encouraged will never again impose his ideas on classes. Certain elements which reflect the interests and emphases of young people characterize the learning activities planned by them; namely, a desire to come to grips with all phases of problems (reflected in their desire to discuss controversial issues); use of the local community—speakers, interviews, opinion polls, surveys, visits to local offices, institutions, and industries, and search for source materials; cooperation with pupils in other high schools for debates and forums. Senior high school pupils place much importance on testing their school learnings against out-of-school evidence. In world history, boys and girls invited a panel of "authorities"—a sculptor, an architect, a musician, and a writer—to speak on "Contribution of the Ancient Greeks to My Profession." An American history class, engaged in a study of "The American Negro," carried on a considerable amount of investigation of conditions in the local community as to housing, education, and employment opportunities, and were surprised at the number of "plus" factors found.

The comments of senior high school pupils indicate the value of cooperative planning. "I enjoyed all the things we did in American history last year," wrote an eighteen-year-old boy, "but I liked best and worked the hardest on my topic of 'Postwar Germany' in our continuous unit reports. I knew the class depended on me to keep them informed of the facts."

² Laue, Edith A. "Off We Go." *Social Education* 13:171-73; April 1949.

³ Klee, Loretta E. "Folklore and the Development of Critical Thinking." *Social Education* 10:267-69; October 1946.

⁴ Klee, Loretta E. "Developing Social and Study Skills: A Method and an Appraisal." *American Heritage* 1:75-7; October 1947.

⁵ Klee, Loretta E. "Operation Frostbite: A Consumer Education Project." *The Clearing House* 22:198-202; December 1947.

⁶ Details available through correspondence with the author.

KEEPING RECORDS IN COOPERATIVE PLANNING

Records are an essential element in cooperative planning for (a) continuous evaluation, (b) prevention of needless repetition and wasteful duplication in activities, and (c) guiding pupils into a variety of learning experiences.

In the lower elementary grades, the goals, work to be done, responsibilities to be assumed by each child, and time schedules are often printed on large poster paper or on the blackboard by the teacher at the pupils' "dictation." In the grades where pupils can assist in the writing, a "log" is sometimes kept by the teacher and the pupils. In the intermediate and secondary grades, the author has found the following type of record (on a 5 x 8-inch card) very helpful to herself and her pupils. When filed, available to pupils as well as to the teacher, these record cards are useful as a part of the planning and evaluation of the total school learning experiences.

Name Date

Our class purpose:

Part of study I am working on:

My responsibility:

With whom I am working:

OUTCOMES OF COOPERATIVE PUPIL-TEACHER PLANNING

Although it is obvious that the outcomes of cooperative planning will be determined by the maturity of the learners and the character of the learning experiences, several outcomes are frequently mentioned by teachers and others who have participated in pupil-teacher planning. Among those, the following can be suggested with confidence:

1. Increased interest in school activities as revealed by improved daily attendance and the enthusiastic participation of pupils in learning activities.
2. Improved tone of human relationships among the group—general comradeship, respect for each other, new appreciation of the abilities of others and of self.
3. Fuller understanding of school activities by parents and others outside of school as a result of the increased cooperation between the local community and the school.

4. Growing student awareness of the meaning of citizenship as a result of their participation in civic activities.
5. A new appreciation of the value of school experiences.
6. Increased carry-over of knowledge, attitudes, interests, and skills into out-of-school situations.

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FILMS (SOUND)

Columbia University Educational Films, 201 Alumni House, Columbia University, New York 27.

Learning Through Cooperative Planning. 20 minutes; 2 reels; rental, \$4.00. Produced by the Metropolitan School Study Council. Elementary school pupils participate in group planning.

We Plan Together. 20 minutes; 2 reels; rental, \$4.00. Produced by Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute and Horace Mann-Lincoln School. Pupils in grade eleven plan for studies to be carried on over a period of several months.

Broader Concept of Method. Parts I and II. 20 minutes each part; rental, \$4.00 each part. Contrasts formal methods with cooperative procedures with secondary school pupils.

Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Wilson Dam School. 25 minutes; no rental charge from TVA. Use of community as a laboratory in cooperative planning for elementary school pupils.

New York University Film Service, 26 Washington Place, New York 3.

Time to Spare. 2 reels; rental, \$3.00. Cooperative planning in a one-room rural school. The film shows a transition stage from the separate subject approach to the "integrated" approach in social studies. Informal teacher-pupil relationships and pupil participation in planning.

Notes and News

NCSS Annual Business Meeting

The February 1951 issue of this journal carried part of the report of the Annual Business Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies held in Minneapolis on November 24, during the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the NCSS. A summary of the report of the Publications Committee follows, and a summary of the report of the Audio-Visual Committee is to appear in the April issue. Space limitations prohibit filling in all the details, but it is hoped that the digests of these reports will help inform NCSS members about committee activities and indicate the great appreciation due the members of these committees for their work on behalf of the NCSS and its members.

Reporting for the NCSS Publications Committee, Dorothy McClure, chairman, outlined the following publication activities under its supervision.

During the calendar year of 1950, the following materials were published:

Social Education of Young Children, Curriculum Series No. 4, rev. ed., Mary Willcockson, editor.

Selected Test Items in American Government, Bulletin No. 13, rev. ed., H. R. Anderson, E. F. Lindquist, and H. D. Berg.

How To Use a Bulletin Board, How To Do It No. 4, revised by Marion L. Ryan.

How To Take a Survey of Public Opinion, How To Do It No. 7, by Richard W. Burkhardt and Michael O. Sawyer.

How To Use a Textbook, How To Do It No. 2, revision by William H. Cartwright.

The Census in Our Nation's History, in cooperation with the Bureau of the Census.

Fire Safety: For Teachers of Primary Grades;

Fire Safety: For Teachers of Intermediate Grades;

Fire Safety: For Junior High School Teachers; in cooperation with the National Commission on Safety Education.

During the calendar year of 1950 the following manuscripts were cleared by the Committee, to be published early in 1951:

Parties and Politics in the Local Community, Bulletin No. 20, rev. ed., Marguerite J. Fisher and Edith Starratt.

A Guide to Reading for Social Studies Teachers, Bulletin No. 26, edited by Edwin R. Carr.

How To Use Recordings, How To Do It No. 8, by Richard Siggelkow.

How To Do Cooperative Planning, How To Do It No. 9, by Loretta Klee.

How To Use Oral Reports, How To Do It No. 10, by Myrtle Larkin.

The 21st Yearbook, *The Teaching of Contemporary Affairs*, is being handled by the Committee as promptly as manuscript is received from the editor. It is hoped that an early 1951 publication date can be arranged, and the Committee is bending every effort to that end.

Projected plans for publications in 1951 and later include the following: Three volumes of the Curriculum Series are in the process of development by the Curriculum Committee, or affiliated groups—one on social studies program for young adolescents is well along toward completion; and those on junior college and intermediate grade programs are projected. A bulletin on the use of source materials in the teaching of history is being developed by Robert Keohane. The revision of selected source units in the Problems of American Life Series and the addition of new titles to the series is in the planning state; a joint committee of the Council and the National Association of Secondary-School Principals is being set up to direct this program. A fourth fire safety bulletin, for senior high school teachers, is being developed in cooperation with the National Commission on Safety Education. A number of titles for the How To Do It Series are being explored, and manuscripts have been promised on two: *How To Locate Useful Government Documents* by Stanley Wronski, and *How To Develop a Catalogue of Community Resources* by Miller Collings. The 22d Yearbook, *Citizenship Education*, and the 23d Yearbook, *The Teacher of the Social Studies*, are well under way. Ryland Cray is editing the first, Jack Allen the second. The Committee has explored various topics for the 24th and 25th Yearbooks and hopes to have the topic and editor for each selected early in 1951. The topics under consideration include Economic Education; Evaluation in Social Studies; Articulation of the Fourteen-Year Program in Social Studies; The Twelfth Grade Social Studies Program; Implications of Human Development Research for Social Studies Programs; and Skills Instruction in the Social Studies. Rec-

ommendations from members as to which topics should be chosen, and suggestions as to persons who should be asked to undertake work on them, will be welcomed by the Committee.

The Publications Committee has recommended that the Board set up a committee to revise the Council's policy statement, *The Social Studies Look Beyond the War*. It is felt that many points included in this statement would probably be retained by such a revising committee, since they represent continuing goals, but that a reexamination and a current statement of goals would lend positive influence to NCSS leadership in the social studies field.

The Publications Committee wishes to thank the many NCSS members who have contributed advice and criticism about the publications program. In its own behalf and in the name of the entire NCSS membership, it wishes to thank the authors who have given so freely of their valuable time and energy in preparing manuscript. The Council's publication program is a cooperative thing. The Publications Committee invites you to participate in it by suggesting publications you think would be useful, and by reacting to past publications which may be coming up for revision. Send your comments to the Executive Secretary, Merrill F. Hartshorn, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; or to the incoming publications chairman, Edwin R. Carr, University of Colorado, Boulder.

The members of the Publications Committee for 1950 were Dorothy McClure, Ryland W. Crary, and Jack Allen.

Contributing Members

Since the last listing in the November 1950 issue of *Social Education*, the National Council for the Social Studies has received a number of additional contributing memberships. A contributing membership at \$10 per year includes a subscription to *Social Education*, a clothbound copy of the Yearbook, a copy of each bulletin, curriculum series, and pamphlet published by the National Council during the year of membership, and free registration at the annual meeting. These members make a valuable contribution to our profession and to the National Council through their added financial support. At the same time they assure themselves of automatically receiving every publication of the National Council as soon as it is available. The officers of the National Council take this means of thanking them for their help. Included here are con-

tributing memberships received through January 12, 1951.

With their current renewal, the following have held contributing memberships for the past *eight* years: Elbert W. Burr, Marie Gielen, Erling M. Hunt, Wilbur F. Murra, Clifton Worthen.

Contributing members for the past *seven* years: Robert C. Gillingham, Eunice Johns, Allen Y. King, Ethel M. Ray, William B. Thomas.

Contributing members for the past *six* years: Walker Brown, John H. Haefner, J. B. Kihler, R. H. Porter.

Contributing members for the past *five* years: Ralph A. Brown, Harold Korey, Alina Lindegren, Donald G. Schein.

Contributing members for the past *four* years: Everett Augspurger, Ray R. Brown, Adelaide Dodge, Ethel Ewing, Mary E. Eyre, Dorothy McMurray, Harriet Stull, John B. Tucker, Western Kentucky STC.

Contributing members for the past *three* years: Mamie Anderzohn, Maud Austin, Ryland W. Crary, E. M. Craft, Central HS Library (Bay City, Mich.), Grace Friedinger, Eliza Gamble, Hargreaves Library (Cheney, Wash), M. F. Hill, Frankie Jones, Florence Kasiske, Royce Knapp, Julia Krenwinkel, Library Texas A & M College, Harold M. Long. Minot (S. D.) STC, Gerald Phillips, Pauline C. Pogue, James F. Robinson, Leo Shapiro, Tappan School (Detroit), Wallace W. Taylor, Gladys Webber, Gertrude Whipple.

Contributing members for the past *two* years: Marion Anderson, Kenneth P. Blake, Jr., Edwin R. Carr, Cleveland Board of Education, Mary Cooper, Nora B. Cummins, Clarence P. Denman, Florence Dunning, Judson C. Gray, Griffith (N.Y.) Industrial & Central School, William H. Hartley, Clarence Killmer, Marjorie Large, Walter A. Lucas, Robert C. Robertson, Joseph Schaffner Library, Olive Stewart, Sullivan Memorial Library, Jennie Twardus, Margaret P. Welch, Edith Whiting.

New contributing members: Jack Bogle, Lillian E. Arnold, Brooklyn Public Library, Chapman Memorial Library, William H. Connor, Cornell University Library, Dominican Sisters (Detroit), Osie Doster, Anna M. duPerier, George Peabody College Library, Alanson C. Harper, Hayward (Calif.) JHS, Adelaide Helwig, Irene A. Johnson, Mrs. L. Berniece Johnson, Howard A. Kinehart, T. W. McMasters, Milwaukee STC Library, Marjorie Muhlitner, Northland College Library, Jerry L. Patterson, Jennie L. Pingrey, Wilma Schmalzreid, Gilbert C. Snow, Angie Wilson.

Pamphlets and Government Publications

Ralph Adams Brown

Urgent Problems

Current problems, or contemporary problems, or problems of American democracy are taught in a large majority of the nation's high schools and in some colleges and junior colleges. The titles imply, of course, attention to major or continuing problems that face the American people—or perhaps even the people of the world. It would seem natural, however, that these problems have different degrees of urgency or timeliness. The following pamphlets have been chosen because they deal with problems that seem to be especially urgent at the present time.

High school students, particularly the junior and senior boys, are intimately concerned about the future of selective service. They should be led to understand that mobilization either for war or for preparedness involves aspects other than manpower. *Economic Policy for Rearmament* (The Committee for Economic Development, 444 Madison Avenue, New York 22; free) is prefaced upon the following statement, prepared by the Committee's Research and Policy subdivision in December of 1949:

The fear of war may dominate our lives for a generation. The imminent threat of war will rise and fall; we may face alternating periods of optimism and pessimism, but the threat may last for decades. We must assume that war is not inevitable but we must also assume that there is little prospect of genuine peace in the near future. Large scale measures for national security seem necessary for years to come.

This pamphlet is arranged around four major points or topics: The Problem of Mobilization; the Strategy for Economic Mobilization; How to Restrain Non-Military Demand; and Expediting the Military Program. There is also a short, inspirational appeal to labor, industry, and private citizens to do certain specified tasks that the Committee feels are necessary to the success of any government program.

Teachers at the secondary level will probably find that only about 10 percent of their students can both understand and enjoy this material. It shouldn't be necessary, however, to dwell on the fact that that is the 10 percent most often neglected, and the group most important in terms of future leadership.

At a time when certain irresponsible individuals have chosen to make political capital by undermining our confidence in those who shape our foreign policy, it would seem imperative that teachers of the social studies objectively (if such is possible at the present time) discuss the problem of loyalty and of freedom of speech and action. A recently published pamphlet will be of help in such an effort: *Loyalty and Security in the Department of State* (Department of State Publication 3841; Department of State, Washington 25; free).

"This pamphlet is designed," the reader is told, "to answer the people's questions by explaining in some detail the security and loyalty programs which are in effect in the Department and the procedures the Department follows in carrying them out." The entire procedure of screening employees is analyzed and discussed in this ten-page pamphlet. In view of the political propaganda of the past months, the concluding paragraphs will be of interest to many students:

Today a total of 16,000 United States citizens are employed in the State Department and the Foreign Service. All of these people, with the exception of whatever cases may still be in process, have been checked and cleared for loyalty in accordance with the President's Loyalty Program. They have also been cleared for security by the Department's Division of Security. In addition to these employees, there are approximately 8,000 aliens employed in the United States Foreign Service overseas who are not subject to these clearance procedures. They are investigated locally in the field, and the officer in charge of each post has the right to hire and fire aliens at his own discretion.

It is a matter of record that to date the President's Loyalty Board has not recommended to the Department that any employee who has been cleared for loyalty by the Department's Loyalty Security Board be discharged on loyalty grounds.

Students of senior high school level can easily grasp the fact that events in Korea are not unrelated to the entire picture of change and unrest in the Asiatic world. Such students can study, profitably, the *Third Report of the Far Eastern Commission* to Secretary of State Dean Acheson (Department of State Publication 3945; Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25; 20 cents). This 50-page pamphlet discusses such topics as The Trial of

Japanese War Criminals, Agrarian Reform, Japanese Patents, Trade Names and the Marking of Merchandise in Japan, The Restitution of Looted Property, and Access to Japanese Technical and Scientific Information.

Public Affairs, Illustrated

Social studies teachers are familiar with the Public Affairs Pamphlets and generally recognize them as one of the most helpful series of pamphlets that deal with domestic problems. An innovation in their publishing program is represented by *This Land of Ours*, text by Maxwell S. Stewart, designed by Mabel C. Mount (Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16; 30 cents). A new approach to the teaching of conservation, it should be extremely useful with classes from the fifth grade through the senior high school. It was prepared with the cooperation and assistance of the Conservation Foundation, and is at least 75 percent pictorial. Teachers might well write to the Committee, urging an extension of this part of their publications program.

Korea

The current interest of nearly all Americans in Korea and the Far East would indicate a need for teachers to acquire all useful materials in this area. The following titles, and brief annotations may, therefore, be helpful at this time.

Korea, 1945-1948; A Report on Political Developments and Economic Resources with Selected Documents (Department of State Publication 3305; Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25; 35 cents). This 125-page pamphlet is divided into three main divisions: Political Developments; Resources and Economy; and Appendixes. The latter makes up roughly two-thirds of the pamphlet and contains the text of 32 documents. This last feature should make this of unusual value to those teachers who stress working with primary materials and the values to be derived from forming opinions based on a study of conflicting sources.

Foreign Affairs Outlines: Building the Peace, is a series of pamphlets issued by the Department of State. Number 24 is called "The Fight Against Aggression in Korea" (Superintendent of Documents; 10 cents) and contains, in rather concentrated form, a great deal of background material.

Action in Korea, Under Unified Command (Department of State Publication 3935; Superintendent of Documents; 5 cents) is the first report to the Security Council by the United States Government, dated July 25, 1950. This is the type of inexpensive pamphlet that often becomes invaluable for teacher purposes in later years—when it is almost impossible to obtain. It is regrettable that more social studies teachers do not have both the interest and the facilities to make such material available for their successors.

United States Policy in the Korean Crisis (Department

of State Publication 3922; Superintendent of Documents; 25 cents) is a 68-page pamphlet, bound in heavy paper, that contains the text of 101 documents.

Korea's Independence (Department of State Publication 2933; Superintendent of Documents; 15 cents). Issued in 1947, this 60-page pamphlet provides a summary of wartime and postwar commitments regarding Korea, negotiations under the Moscow Agreement, and efforts to achieve Korean independence. Twelve annexes contain the text of relevant correspondence and documents.

Mutual Defense Assistance: Agreement Between the United States of America and Korea (Department of State Publication 3796; 5 cents). This nine-page flyer gives the terms of the treaty signed on January 26, 1950.

Economic Cooperation with Korea Under Public Law 793, 80th Congress: Agreement Between the United States of America and Korea (Department of State Publication; 10 cents).

Vermont

The National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier, Vermont, offers a free pamphlet entitled *The Story of Old Vermont*. The 45-page pamphlet contains, on every page, a picture connected with or portraying some incident in Vermont's history. Below the picture is a brief description. (And at the bottom of the page is a good reason for purchasing life insurance.) Perhaps 30 percent of them would be of interest to students outside of Vermont—largely dealing with the colonial and Revolutionary period. The booklet is very attractive, and the advertising material is separated from the historical information in such a way that it is in no sense distasteful or annoying.

Science Research Associates

Many social studies teachers are aware of the publications of Science Research Associates (228 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 4). The 48-page pamphlets in their Life Adjustment Series are of great value to the teacher. Always valuable for teacher use, they are often valuable for student use as well. The first title in the 1950 series is *High School Handbook*, by Margaret E. Bennett (40 cents). Miss Bennett is consulting psychologist for the Pasadena City Schools, Pasadena, Calif., and has been active as Director of Guidance for that school system, kindergarten through junior college, since 1928. Believing that learning to feel at home in high school is a big job for many young people, and that some students never become aware of all the advantages and services their high school offers them, Miss Bennett has written this, she says, to help newcomers orient themselves and to help older students take full advantage of their high school opportunities. Her pamphlet tells how to take stock of the school

building, the teachers, school services, and courses of study. The author also discusses "how to make friends and influence teachers," learning how to grow up, the things teachers look for in grading, and how to plan a course of study wisely in relation to both present and future.

The same publishers announce a new series to be known as the Better Living Series. The first publication in this group of pamphlets is Edith Neisser's *How To Live with Children* (40 cents). Mrs. Neisser is a parent as well as a frequent contributor to professional journals. She has had the assistance of the Staff of the Chicago Association for Family Living, for which she has been a discussion leader. This booklet discusses how to provide for the emotional needs of children in day-to-day living. It is the result of long experience in assisting adults to a better relationship with children and offers practical solutions to many of the problems of classroom and home.

Social Policy

Teachers working with problems pertaining to the conversions necessary in a time of instability and with problems of social adjustment in time of war will be interested in Richard M. Titmuss' *Problems of Social Policy* (British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20; \$5.75). It is a volume in a series devoted to the British Government policy and experience during World War II. The book deals with three major topics: The Evacuation of Mothers and Children; the Work of the Hospital Services; and the Social Consequences of Air Attack. The author explains the origins and development of government policy on these subjects, and traces the course of events through crisis and adjustment to the strains of war. The story is told against the background of the prewar pattern of society and the changes forced upon that society by the demands of war. The emphasis upon the wartime experiences of units of local government should make this of special interest to teachers in communities wrestling with the problems of local civilian defense.

Social Action

Several years ago this department used to make frequent mention of the materials found in the monthly issues of *Social Action* (Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Ave., New York 10; 10

cents an issue; \$1.50 per year). Starting with the issue of September 15, they initiated a new series which "seek to relate Christian faith and social analysis to each other realistically in preparation for the grim years ahead. They will deal with various facets of a central theme: 'Decisions Christians Face in the World Crisis.'"

The first of the series (issue of September 15) contains an analysis of "Industrial Relations and Christian Ethics" by Francis W. McPeck. After setting forth the several critical issues, the author discusses Labor's and Management's Answer to Communism, Basic Principles in a Christian Ethic, and The Future of American Trusteeship.

The issue of October 15 deals with politics and the possibilities for the average citizen to participate in the functioning of political democracy. The bulk of the pamphlet is written by E. E. Schattschneider, professor of government at Wesleyan University. His discussion is entitled "Our Unrecognized Governmental Crisis," and would be an excellent introduction, at the high school level, to the problem of citizen participation.

Freedom Pamphlets

Mention was made, several months ago, of the *Freedom Pamphlets* published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (212 Fifth Ave., New York 10; 25 cents each). Since that time two additional pamphlets have been added to the series.

Group Dynamics and Social Action, by Kenneth D. Benne, Leland P. Bradford, and Ronald Lippitt, is predicated on a "conviction that a major way to increase social intelligence today is to improve the quality of problem-solving within our group and organizational life. Improvement for the authors consists in the application of democratic and scientific methods in the planned solution of action problems. Such improvement requires the development of effective patterns of cooperation between action, research and educational leadership." This is a practical and stimulating approach to the strengthening of democratic processes.

Irving J. Lee's *How Do You Talk about People?* attempts to show us how we think about our own thinking. The author, an authority in the field of semantics, believes that "preaching" seldom changes beliefs. Chapter titles are: On Human Evaluation; Two Kinds of Statements; Beyond the Word; On Looking at Labels; The Companion Piece to Prejudice; and Can Self-Scrutiny Be Taught?

Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

Film of the Month

The Beginning or the End. 33 minutes; 16-mm. sound; black and white; sale or rental: apply. Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 West 43rd St., New York 18.

Current discussions on the wisdom and the necessity of using the A-bomb make this film particularly timely. Originally an excerpted edition, it portrays the chronological development of the A-bomb from its inception in the minds of men to Hiroshima in flames. The all-out effort on the part of the United States to be first in this race is dramatically pictured from the opening scene of Dr. Robert Oppenheimer in his laboratory to the closing speculation by the narrator as to whether this is to be the beginning or the end. The research in many centers of science, the contribution of Einstein, President Roosevelt's part in the securing of funds, the collaboration of scientists from other nations, the building of Oak Ridge, the test at Los Alamos, and President Truman's decision to use the bomb are all part of the excerpted edition.

Although *The Beginning or the End* was produced for entertainment with a professional cast, the departures from the actual facts are few; those few remaining in the excerpted edition do not detract from the values of the film.

The Beginning or the End, tried out in classrooms before it was released, proved to be an effective motivator of discussion and study of the problems which have arisen as a result of the discovery and use of the A-bomb. After a screening of this film, the question of using the bomb is certain to arise; in fact students frequently suggest that the film seems to be an attempt to justify its use in World War II. This, however, is due to the sequence of historical events rather than to any conscious effort on the part of the committee preparing the present edition.

Designed primarily for classes in problems of American democracy, *The Beginning or the End* can be used effectively in world and American history classes.

Reviewed by W. Kenneth Fulkerson
John Marshall High School
Rochester, New York

Recent 16-mm. Sound Films

Association Films, 35 W. 45th St., New York 19.

Made in the U.S.A. 10 minutes; rental, \$1.50. Our dependence on foreign goods for our manufacturing is emphasized through the example of the automobile which would be almost impossible without imports.

Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1.

Am I Trustworthy? 10 minutes; sale: black and white, \$50; color, \$100. A film which raises problems of conduct. Brings these problems down to earth when it shows examples of boys and girls who complete assigned tasks, return articles, clean up after a job.

Choosing Your Occupation. 10 minutes; sale: black and white, \$50; color, \$100. How to find out about jobs, about one's abilities, and about training for one's chosen profession.

Developing Friendship. 10 minutes; sale: black and white, \$50; color, \$100. How friends help make our lives richer and how friendship can be developed by each individual.

How To Develop Interest. 10 minutes; sale: black and white, \$50; color, \$100. Interest in school work and in the world of affairs is viewed as the responsibility of every student.

Plantation System in Southern Life. 10 minutes; sale: black and white, \$50; color, \$100. The true nature of the plantation as a way of life in the South is explained in this film. The social and economic significance of this institution is developed.

Public Opinion in Our Democracy. 11 minutes; black and white or color; rental: apply. A systematic and stimulating consideration of the forces which mold public opinion, their importance, and how to use them most effectively.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Ill.

Apples (From Seedling to Market). 11 minutes; color; sale, \$100. Apple growing is pictured as a highly scientific, competitive industry that grows and ships apples for all the world. Modern methods of planting, grafting, and insect control are shown.

Children of the Alps. 11 minutes; sale, \$50. Winter in the high mountains of Switzerland is the theme of this story of a Swiss boy and girl. Cutting timber, carrying out household tasks, going to school, woodworking, sleigh riding, ice hockey, skiing, and other activities are shown.

Esquimos (Winter in Western Alaska). 10 minutes; color; sale, \$100. Day-to-day life includes fishing, hunting, homes, dress, schools, and a dance.

The Living Forest. 40 minutes; color; sale, \$330. This is the forum edition of several shorter films. It explains how a disappearing forest causes diminishing water supply, lost topsoil, and vanishing wildlife.

Printing Through the Ages. 15 minutes; sale, \$70. Shows how the art of writing, so important to men's development, has progressed from ancient times until today.

Early printing methods, using carved wooden blades, and the gradual development of moveable type are portrayed.

Writing Through the Ages. 11 minutes; sale, \$50. Tells the chronological study of writing as a means of communication. How writing evolved from pictures and signs, how local materials determined what writing tools and materials were used, are explained in this film. Early Chinese, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian writings are shown and analyzed, and the contributions of the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans to the modern alphabet are stressed.

Films, Inc., Instructional Division, 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18.

A Day in Congress. 18 minutes; sale, \$80. Forty Senators and Congressmen cooperated in making this film which shows the varied activities of the men who make our laws. Included are office appointments, committee meetings, activities on the floor of Congress, and other duties.

Gateway Productions, Inc., 1857 Powell St., San Francisco 11.

The Indian House. 8 minutes; rental, \$3.00. An interesting picture of the cliff dwellers and how their housing was changed through Spanish and American influence.

Geographic Pictures, 1776 Broadway, New York 19.

Influence of Geography and History on the Port of New York. 10 minutes; color; rental, \$5.00. Traces the history of the rise of the port of New York. Shows through animations its relation to the rest of the nation and to Europe, and analyzes the factors which gave rise to its growth.

McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18.

You Can Beat the A-Bomb. 20 minutes; sale, \$80. Six feet of earth, three feet of concrete or one foot of steel—these are only some of the things demonstrated as helping to protect one from the deadly radiation of an explosion. Graphic demonstrations of how and where to seek safety indoors or outdoors are given. A typical family group is shown following directions calmly because each member has been prepared beforehand and knows what is expected of him.

March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17.

America and the Immigrant. 17 minutes; sale, \$50. A history of American immigration during the past 100 years. Shows what the immigrant brought to America in the way of ideas and skills.

Man in the 20th Century. 17 minutes; sale, \$55. The problems facing men today and the efforts of the United Nations, education, and other forces to solve these problems.

Modern Talking Picture Service, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

The House that Faith Built. 39 minutes; free loan. This institutional film tells the historical and modern factual story of the rise of the House of Anhauser-Busch. The range of its products are shown as well as the interrelation of other industries such as agriculture and bottling materials suppliers.

National Restaurant Association, 8 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 3.

America's Heritage of Hospitality. 22 minutes; color;

free loan. America's eating habits at home and in restaurants are examined and the sources of our food supply are explored.

Pennsylvania State College, Audio-Visual Dept., State College, Pa.

Construction Ahead. 22 minutes; rental, \$4.50. How a modern highway is designed and built.

Sterling Films, Inc., 316 W. 57th St., New York 19.

Who's Who in the Bronx Zoo. 10 minutes; sale, \$17.50. A face-to-face introduction to many of the inhabitants of the country's largest zoological garden.

U.S. Department of Agriculture (may be borrowed from nearest USDA film depository).

The Greatest Good. 11 minutes; color. A tribute to the great conservationist, Gifford Pinchot.

Livestock Cooperatives. 15 minutes; color. How these cooperatives work in the marketing of livestock.

United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.

From Bristles to Brushes. 30 minutes; free loan. A trip through the Hartford plant of the Fuller Brush Co. showing the many intricate steps that are taken in the manufacture of brushes for a multitude of purposes.

The Earth. 16 minutes; sale, \$22.83. Originally made for the U.S. Navy, this film explains the meaning of such terms as latitude, longitude, prime meridian, international date line.

University of Washington, Instructional Material Center, Seattle 5, Wash.

Trial by Jury. 30 minutes; sale, \$108.15. Traces a specific case through the legal process of trial.

Yugoslavia Films, 36 Central Park S., New York 17.

Macedonia. 15 minutes; rental, \$4.00 per week. Compares life in Macedonia today with the past through pictures of ruins, monuments, works of art, and modern activities.

Filmstrips

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 30.

A Century of Progress in Elementary Education. 35 frames; \$1.00. In 1844, after a storm of controversy, a bill was passed providing for children to receive three hours a day compulsory schooling. This strip retraces the long journey since then, stressing the work of outstanding reformers whose ideas have provided the structure of the British system of elementary education.

Christian Mission Films, 220 S. Electric Ave., P.O. Box 535, Alhambra, Calif.

The First Thanksgiving. 35 frames; color; \$6.50. The tribulations of the Pilgrims in the old world, their trip across the Atlantic, the landing at Plymouth, and the joys of the first thanksgiving feast.

Coast Visual Education Co., 5620 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28, Calif.

Global Geography Shortcuts. 96 frames; sale, \$5.00. Arranged in eight consecutive parts, this filmstrip presents a clear visualization of basic concepts involved in global relationships. The parts of the strip are "World-Wide Problems," "Playing the Quiz Game," "Reading the

Globe," "Reading the Routes," "Reading the Distances," "Reading Some Directions," "Varied Telecircle Uses," and "Reading Time and Date."

Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 4.

The Skokie School Store—A Consumer's Cooperative. Part I, 43 frames; Part II, 42 frames. Sale: Complete with scripts, \$4.50. Here is the step-by-step story of the organization and operation of the Skokie Junior High School cooperative store at Winnetka, Illinois. The story is told by the students themselves and the art work on the filmstrips was done by the students. In Part II the students review the early history and development of cooperative principles, and discuss the ways in which coops differ from business organized and operated for profit.

Health Publications Institute, Inc., 216 N. Dawson St., Raleigh, North Carolina.

It's Time to Grow Up. 54 frames; color; \$5.00. This filmstrip was designed to help explain the important role of conflict in a child's development. It is accompanied by a friendly narrative, conversational in tone, which emphasizes the points brought out in the film.

Popular Science Publishing Co., 350 Fourth Ave., New York 10.

Food Around the World. Series of 5 filmstrips; sale, apply. "Food in History," "Food Growing," "Food Processing," "Geographic Distribution of Food," "Food Habits Around the World." Four in black and white, one in color.

Home Life in European Lands. Series of 6 filmstrips; color; sale, \$31.50. Home life in England, Holland, Scandinavia, France, Switzerland, and Italy. These filmstrips consist entirely of newly-taken photographs shot to specifically designed scripts. Valuable in middle grade social studies classes.

Visits to European Lands. Series of 5 filmstrips; color; sale, \$26.50. Visits to England, Scandinavia, Low Countries, France, and Italy. Valuable in a study of how man has adapted his ways of living to various types of environment.

United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.

Great Britain—Medieval History. 35 frames; color; \$6.00. Colorful scenes of manor life, tournaments, fairs, and other aspects of medieval life in Great Britain.

Great Britain—Modern History. 30 frames; color; \$6.00. How Great Britain built up a great industrial empire; colonization; Industrial Revolution; and present place in world affairs.

Longitude and Latitude. 40 frames; \$3.00. Explains the principles of latitude and longitude through the use of drawings and maps.

Longitude and Time. 40 frames; \$3.00. The principles of mathematical geography which gives us the various time zones of the world.

Records

Education Services (1702 K St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.) offers a 10 percent school discount on their *Voices of Freedom* album of 33 1/3 rpm records which retails at \$4.95, plus 30 cents shipping charges. *Voices of Freedom* is narrated by Robert McCormick, NBC news commentator,

and presents the living, vital presence of the actual voices of such outstanding Americans as Bryan, Taft, Edison, Peary, T. Roosevelt, Wilson, Earhart, Will Rogers, F. D. Roosevelt, and Harry T. Truman. The publishers say of their work, "We hope this album, in its small way, will contribute to an understanding of our way of life—that it will encourage an overt appreciation of the blessings we have so long taken for granted."

An *Annotated List of Phonograph Records*, especially prepared to assist teachers in the selection of records for classroom use, costs but 10 cents from the Children's Reading Service, 106 Beckman St., New York 7. The list presents some 500 chosen records, arranged by subject areas and grade groups.

Audio-Visual News

The Greyhound Information Center (P.O. Box 815, Chicago 90) announces a new full-color wall display entitled "See All the World—Here in America." Beautifully lithographed in natural colors, this 8-foot display dramatically compares far-away places with America's scenic wonders. Complete with 16 pages of description, it is free to classroom teachers.

A series of six picture wall charts has been prepared for school use by the Association of American Railroads (Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.). The colorful charts measure 22 x 34 inches in size and deal with the following topics: "How Railroads Serve," "Railroads and World Trade," "Railroads and Industry," "Railroads and the Community," "Railroads and American Life." Copies of these charts are free to teachers.

A chart enabling pupils to keep a record of weather conditions for four months is free to teachers from Scott, Foresman & Co., 114 E. 23rd St., New York 10.

Write to A. J. Nystrom Co. (3333 Elston Ave., Chicago 18) for a copy of their latest map catalog. It is a special large-size to accommodate a large colored illustration at the top of each page. These illustrations are actual-size reproductions of parts of representative maps.

Write to the General Secretariat, Pan American Union, Washington 6, D.C., for a "List of Sources of Free and Inexpensive Materials on Latin America." Also available upon request from this source is a picture-poster of "The Americas and Their Capitols," 19 x 25 inches in size.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc. (Wilmette, Illinois) has prepared a film selection *Guide for Junior and Senior High School Social Studies*. This *Guide* lists 59 of the leading social studies textbooks and indicates what Encyclopaedia Britannica films correlate with these texts chapter by chapter. The *Guide* has as its purpose to assist the teacher in finding the right film to correlate with the text he is using. Copies of the *Guide* sell at the cost of printing, \$1.00 each.

Of All Things

The Gilbertson Co. (826 Broadway, New York 3), publishers of "Classics Illustrated," a comic book approach to famous books, announces 76 titles now available. Among the "classics" with social studies implications are *The Last of the Mohicans*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *Westward Ho!*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Adventures of Marco Polo*, *The Man Without a Country*, *Benjamin Franklin*, *Julius Caesar*, and *The Oregon Trail*. At 8½ cents each, these illustrated paper-bound books furnish valuable material for the teacher who has slow readers in his class who need special reading material.

A facsimile reproduction of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, printed on five large sheets, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$1.00. Accompanying it is an explanation of the background of the Proclamation and its issuance.

British Information Services (30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20) recently announced that their 16-mm. sound film sales prices are soon to be increased due to the rise in printing and handling costs. The new scale will become effective on March 1, 1951. Hitherto the sale price of a one-reel film has been \$27.50, that of a two-reeler \$47.50. Under the new rates, a one-reeler will sell for \$32.50, a two-reeler for \$55.

Write to Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Illinois, for a copy of their yearly film catalog. This easy-to-use guide provides alphabetical listing of EBFilms, with accurate descriptions of each film's contents. A handy "where-to-use" section groups all films conveniently by subject matter areas.

Alice T. Steiner of the Barringer High School, Newark, N.J., has prepared a "Course of Study in Radio and Television Appreciation." Pub-

lished by Educational and Recreational Guides, Inc. (172 Renner Ave., Newark 8, N.J.) this brochure discusses the listening process, analyzes the various types of programs, furnishes students with listening and non-listening activities and gives a complete outline of radio and television history. It sells for \$1.00 per copy.

Helpful Articles

- Anderson, Stuart. "Banish Bulletin Board Blues." *The Journal of Education* 133:232-33; November 1950. A bulletin board policy is established, explained to the class, division of labor is agreed upon, planning begins and bulletin board displays are prepared and evaluated.
- Levin, Betty. "Television and the Schools." *Harvard Education Review* 20:255-70; Fall 1950. To what extent should such a significant and powerful instrument be controlled by private industry?
- Lewis Philip. "TV Takes a Test." *Educational Screen* 29:196-98, 203; May 1950. "If a school is located within the range of a television station that is now broadcasting or is willing to broadcast educational programs during school hours, the purchase of television receivers need not be postponed."
- O'Connor, Virgil J. "An Examination of Instructional Films for characteristics of an Effective Teaching Presentation." *The Harvard Educational Review* 20:271-84; Fall 1950. A series of films are analyzed as to their level of iconicity and salience.
- Reed, Paul C. "Films for Democracy." *Educational Screen* 29:421; December 1950. "We must get these films and put them to work." Included is a list of film libraries from which "films for democracy" may be borrowed.
- Schuesslar, Raymond. "Learning Through Seeing by Use of Visual Education." *The Grade Teacher* 68:17, 71; December 1950. The content of educational films, how they are made, and their value to pupils.
- Sellers, Rose S. "Needed! Undergraduate Teacher Training in Audio-Visual Education." *Educational Administration and Supervision* 36:429-32; November 1950. A description of a basic course to be given to the undergraduate.
- Swords, Margaret. "Picturing Our History." *The Instructor* 59:33; May 1950. "An interesting way to fix historical facts in mind is to make pictures of important events."
- Tibbett, John H. "Through the Thinking Glass." *Childhood Education* 27:176-79; December 1950. Teachers and pupils cooperate in a program of inter-class visitation with resultant pupil understandings of themselves in relation to others.
- Twist, Dwight E. "A Successful Experiment in Inter-District Cooperation." *The School Executive* 70:38-9; December 1950. Establishment of a cooperative film library and the solution to the problem of distribution.
- Wolfe, Barbara Alice. "Reviews of Educational Recordings." *Audio-Visual Guide* 16:29-30; April 1950. "The American Book Company, in cooperation with Decca Records, Inc., has produced a number of teaching records for all grades from primary through high school." Reviewed are "The American Singer Series," "Lost Horizon," "Snow Goose," and "Little Songs on Big Subjects."

Letters to the Editor

DEAR SIR:

As editor of the NCSS yearbook on *Improving the Teaching of World History*, I wish to express my wholehearted support for the practice of printing extensive critiques of Council yearbooks in *Social Education*. I believe that such critical analyses can stimulate much-needed discussion and study both of the yearbooks themselves and of the problems with which these yearbooks are concerned. Several readers have already replied to the "Critique of the Twentieth Yearbook," which appeared in the October issue of *Social Education*. In justice to the authors of the Yearbook and to established policies of the NCSS, some further comment seems appropriate.

It is apparent that the author of the critique holds a definite viewpoint as to how world history can be taught most effectively. In spite of a mild disavowal on his part in the belief that there is but one best way, he is obviously disappointed that his viewpoint, or at least some single viewpoint, was not urged in the Yearbook as a whole. The topical approach and organization which he advocates, even to the naming of the "essential" topics, is an interesting one which he undoubtedly applies successfully in his own teaching. In various chapters of the Yearbook, readers will find accounts of different approaches and organizations which have been found by other teachers to be useful in their particular situations. (One chapter, it may be noted, describes a number of different topical patterns.) As one reads these chapters, one frequently notes on the part of the authors this same conviction as to the unique value of their particular proposals for organization and approach. It is this fact—that people with varied backgrounds working in diverse situations do their best work with many different methods—that demonstrates the wisdom of the established policy of the NCSS to avoid a rigid prescription regarding curriculum development and teaching methods in social studies classes. To urge the adoption of a single approach that differs considerably from that found in the majority of our schools would, moreover, ignore reality and defeat the purpose of improving world history teaching. Teachers as well as students must start from where they are, with their own background, their material resources, their

student population, and their community situation. Many teachers would find a drastic reorganization of their courses impossible in the immediate future; others would be antagonistic to too great a change. It is better to facilitate improvements which are possible than to preach the impossible.

The author of the "Critique" regrets that the Twentieth Yearbook leaves the reader with a sense "of a job not quite complete." His is an understatement. No yearbook can, in the limited space available, hope to cover all aspects of a major topic such as "Improving the Teaching of World History." Nor could any yearbook be a final presentation of such a problem. If it serves to stimulate further experimentation toward more effective world history teaching or to provoke written discussions of other promising programs, it will have succeeded to a great extent in its purposes. The editor of the Yearbook is glad to see the topical proposals found in the "Critique" and hopes that many more teachers will describe their courses in *Social Education*.

The reviewer's statement that the Twentieth Yearbook ends on a "note of despondency" is somewhat puzzling. The reviewer quotes the following statement from the concluding paragraph of the Yearbook: "It would be naïve to assume, of course, that vastly improved world history teaching will, in and of itself, result in a citizenry trained to cope with critical world problems." A few sentences later he writes: "Even if world history alone—is that Miss West's implication?—will not 'result in a citizenry trained to cope with critical world problems' nothing short of this goal is worthy of the world history teacher." It is regrettable that the reviewer did not, apparently read with care the final pages of the Yearbook. The editor believes that it is dangerous as well as unrealistic to expect the impossible from any school course. Overoptimism leads to despondency when hopes are not attained. It is far more realistic to view world history as one important means, but not the only means, our schools have for achieving the desired goals. It is essential that there be increased emphasis upon these goals in other courses and at other grade levels. Consistent, rather than sporadic, efforts throughout the school years make it more likely that the goals

will be achieved and eventual despondency averted.¹

Edith West, University of
Minnesota High School

¹In a concluding paragraph, Miss West summarized the views expressed in this letter by quoting the final paragraph of the Yearbook. The editor regrets that space limitations prevented publication of this statement.

DEAR SIR:

Your editorial, "Beyond Korea," in the December issue was a timely and worthwhile discussion of an important United Nations speech by Secretary of State Acheson. With much of your statement (including numerous quotations from Acheson's talk) the readers of *Social Education* could have no disagreement. . . .

However, since the Secretary of State's pronouncement, there have been a number of significant developments. Some of these have been of such nature as to make it seem inadvisable for *Social Education* to seem to be (whether or not it is) on one side in the current political conflict being waged in this country over foreign policy. Permit me to say that I do *not* claim that your editorial placed *Social Education* in a particular category with reference to our Secretary of State's

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avowed outlook regarding the question of how best to oppose world Communism. I do say that your very sympathetic discussion might give the impression that *Social Education* is possibly prepared to take sides in the controversy.

It is true that in the speech from which you quoted, the Secretary of State did not touch directly on the subject of a United Nations Army for western Europe. However, in the section which you headed "Collective Security" Mr. Acheson hinted plainly at a point which has since become our government's policy, to wit; the sending of United States' armed forces (in quantity) to whatever part of the globe the government seems to think they are needed.

It is an ostrich-like pose, whether assumed by the Truman Administration or by others, which attempts to convey to the world the notion that the American people are united in upholding a policy of what amounts to the global dispersal of our armed forces. Although I do *not* say that your editorial supported such a program, I do say the Truman Administration which, in a sense received editorial support from you, most definitely does support it. And categorically I wish to state that the American people are *not* united on this point.

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Among other instances in defense of this latter claim, I cite the recent (December 20, 1950) nation-wide broadcast of Ex-President Herbert Hoover. I am quite aware of the fact that it has been popular in certain circles to berate Hoover as just another "reactionary," one without a "liberal" idea in his head. What do such terms as "liberal," "reactionary," *et al.* mean in this day of rapidly shifting political winds? They mean precisely nothing! . . .

I recommend that every social studies teacher who may read this go to a library where he can find the complete text of Hoover's remarkable, sensible statement. They will find in it not one word designed to appease Communism. They will discover the advocacy of a policy which proceeds from an historical approach recognizing that the struggle to rid the world of totalitarianism is one which will continue for many, many years.

The foreign policy panacea-seekers seem to be working on the theory that war with the Soviet Union in the near future is inevitable. Mr. Hoover, displaying greater respect for history, calls for a bastion of freedom in the Western hemisphere with the concentration of American armed forces there and upon the great oceans to the east and the west. He requests, as well he

might, that the non-Communist nations of Asia and particularly of Europe display their own unity-of-purpose in their opposition to Communism. . . .

Hoover's is but one of many voices being raised in a similar vein. They will not be silenced by cries of "isolationism." . . .

I realize that in your support of Secretary Acheson's analysis before the United Nations you were not necessarily committing *Social Education* to future administration pronouncements on foreign policy. You have done what is correctly the privilege of an editor—you have called attention to an important statement by a person of recognized stature in American life.

By the same token, I would like to remind the readers of *Social Education* who have not, as yet, read it that they owe it to themselves to carefully peruse the contents of Ex-President Hoover's speech. It represents the thinking of a man who is widely respected and who, although he agrees with the national administration's objective of opposition to world Communism, certainly opposes its *method* of achieving that goal.

William H. Fisher
University of Arizona

Book Reviews

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND ITS LIMITS: A COMPARISON OF POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. By Kurt Braun. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1950. xiii + 331 p. \$3.00.

The recent front page furore aroused by the decision of the Durham County Council, with a big Labor Party majority, that all its employees including the charwomen (scrubwomen) must be union members, gives added interest to this extensive and detailed description of the closed shop and other features of union policy in this country as compared with Britain, Germany, France, and Sweden.

Social studies teachers know that knowledge rests upon accurate descriptive comparison, and Mr. Braun has compiled a wealth of valuable material drawn from labor, management, and government sources which will be of great help to teachers in the important field of industrial relations. Part I and its three chapters deal with "Freedom to Organize." Part II is much longer and focuses upon "Compulsion to Organize."

With expected semantic skill, the organized employers of the U.S.A. adopted the phrase "open shop" to cloak their yellow dog contracts which created a "closed shop" against all union members. The unions here fought for survival and no holds were barred by the employers. No other country had so many "company unions" and nowhere else were the unions opposed so fiercely; hence, the emphasis by the American unions upon the closed shop. The union troops have won a hotly contested beachhead and must retain it at all costs. That is in large part the explanation of why American unions emphasize much more than unions in other countries the

right to supply workers to the employers under contract or, as in the case of the "union shop," to enforce membership upon all employees after a trial period. American unions, with their general support of "free enterprise" and "individual freedom," insist upon such discipline for the common good and compare it with compulsory taxation, traffic rules, and health laws.

Mr. Braun presents his theme by subject and the teacher might well secure a supplementary chronological perspective by also using Elias Lieberman's *Unions Before the Bar* (Harper & Brothers, 1950), which traces the long drawn out battle in the courts for the freedom to organize. It was only the New Deal decade which created the problems of compulsion: Should the civil servant, the managerial employee become a union member? What are the effects of the "check-off?" How do other countries tackle these problems?

Those misled by the current parrot cry of "labor monopoly" in the U.S.A. might note that Mr. Braun estimates that 60 and 50 percent of the Swedish and British workers respectively appear to be union members. In Germany the figure is slightly above 41 percent; in France between 22 and 35 percent; in the U.S.A. the percentage in 1947 was 35.6 or 34.2 percent, if domestic workers are included as wage workers.

With impartial text, elaborate footnotes, and index and references to and quotes from legal decisions, Mr. Braun provides the answers to these and similar questions. Altogether it is an important and valuable book about a vitally important community problem.

MARK STARR

New York City

Correction

The editor wishes to call attention to the following letter, and to express his regret for the error. Dear Sir: We have just received a copy of the January 1951 issue of *Social Education*. Under the heading, "Publications Received," on page 48, three of our textbooks are listed. After the listing of *The Challenge of Democracy*, Third edition, by Blaich and Baumgartner, "Workbook, 60 cents," is also listed. However, we do not publish a workbook to accompany this text. We did send a copy of *U.S.A. Workbook* by Cunningham and Cunningham (list price \$.96), and this is the title which should have been listed. Yours truly, Harper & Brothers.

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THE BLUE AND THE GREY. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950. Two volumes. xxxiv + 588 p.; xiv + 589-1201 p. \$12.

No war in which our nation has participated has so captured the imagination and held the interest of Americans as has our War Between the States. This Civil War has furnished us with our greatest heroes, contributed to our folklore, and challenged the continuing interest of historians and military analysts.

In a two-volume work, Henry Steele Commager has presented a well rounded and evenly balanced account of the four-year struggle as told by its participants. Nearly five-hundred selections have been chosen and arranged to tell the colorful, dramatic, and sometimes senseless story of the war from Lincoln's nomination in Chicago's Wigwam to the return of the Stars and Stripes to a flagpole over Sumter's battered walls.

The narratives come from all ranks, sections, and occupations: privates and generals, newspaper correspondents and doctors, diplomats and Congressmen, doctors and nurses, parents and clergymen. The selections also offer the reader insight into every major aspect of the war: land

and sea battles, recruiting and supply, politics and economic changes, social life and songs and humor, diplomacy and prison life.

The descriptive chapter titles are indicative of the contents: Darkening Clouds; The Conflict Precipitated; The Gathering of the Hosts; Bull Run and the Peninsular Campaign; Stonewall Jackson and the Valley Campaign; How the Soldiers Lived—Eastern Front; Incidents of Army Life—Western Front; The Problem of Discipline; Songs the Soldiers Sang; Gettysburg; Prisons, North and South; Hospitals, Surgeons and Nurses; The Blockade and the Cruisers, Lee and Lincoln; The Sunset of the Confederacy—and many others of similar nature.

The value of such volumes to the classroom teacher should be obvious. It is true that few secondary school teachers of American history spend long enough on the Civil War to justify much class use of this work. Yet the problem of motivation—of arousing interest and maintaining it—is a major one for all history teachers. Few books would lend themselves to such use as well as these selections of Professor Commager.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University Teachers College
Cortland, New York

AMERICAN POLITICS AND THE PARTY SYSTEM. By Hugh A. Bone. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949. viii + 777 p. \$5.50.

"The avenue between representatives and represented is the political party." It is axiomatic that political parties are indispensable to a representative democracy. Apparently, many citizens do not accept this axiom. Even the men who framed our national constitution believed that parties were unnecessary. Today, many regard involvement in party activities as "dirty" or "corrupt." They proclaim their independence of parties, asserting that they vote for the man and not for the party. The election returns show that their action in the voting booth accords with their declaration, resulting in the election of a Democratic governor and a Republican majority in the legislature, or the reverse. The democratic process threatens to end in deadlock, inviting the thoughtless to demand a strong leader, someone who will send the quarreling politicians home or lock them up in concentration camps.

Clearly, our political parties are not making the democratic process attractive to many of our citizens. Rather than facilitating, the parties seem to be obstructing, popular self-government. Is the assumption of their indispensability not valid after all? Political scientists have sought for alternatives but have found no practicable substitute for a political party system. May not the weaknesses of the system as it operates in our states be traced back to the citizens themselves, to their failure to understand the essential functions which parties must perform? May the citizens' failure to understand be due to a serious deficiency in what they were taught in school? Whatever may have been the shortcomings of formal education in the past, are social studies teachers doing all that can be done today to equip those who will soon become voters with an appreciation of the vital role of parties and with an unwavering determination to make them effective instruments of democracy?

Professor Bone's volume deals with the anatomy of parties and with the living forces which move them. He devotes over 150 pages to their history and character, justifying this by stating, "Despite the plethora of history courses, political science instructors find students lacking in historical perspective concerning the development of American parties." He seeks to broaden their understanding by describing briefly the political parties of several European countries. He shows how pressure groups influence party programs and

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legislative action. Without glossing over the darker aspects of political behavior, he proposes means for correction. He tries to stimulate and encourage many men and women to enter politics, either as an avocation or as a career. He describes the steps to take to become active in a party organization. He writes, not as an academic observer on Olympus, but as an active participant.

As a member of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Political Parties, Professor Bone helped to prepare *Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System* (*American Political Science Review* Supplement, Sept. 1950; also procurable from Rinehart & Co.). This Report expresses the conviction of its authors "that the weakness of the American two-party system can be overcome as soon as a substantial part of the electorate wants it overcome. Hence it is essential to reach the ears of many citizens." How better reach them than through the social studies classrooms of the nation?

Opportunity knocks at the door of every teacher who feels that there has been any deficiency in developing among young citizens an appreciation of the essential functions which political parties can perform and of how the performance of these

functions depends on their active participation in party organizations. Wherever the *mores* permit, the teacher should guide by example as well as by precept. For guidance in the latter's formulation, both the committee's report and Bone's volume should prove helpful.

HOWARD WHITE

Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

DISCONTENT AT THE POLLS: A STUDY OF FARMER AND LABOR PARTIES, 1827-1948. By Murray S. Stedman Jr. and Susan W. Stedman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. x + 190 p. \$2.75.

It is the contention of this book that farmer and labor parties in the United States have served to express political discontent and "to popularize issues which the major parties have at first ignored but later have adopted."

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works in this field by Solon J. Buck, John D. Hicks, and others. Little is added to their contributions, although more attention is given to labor elements than in those agrarian studies.

Voting records of farmer-labor parties since 1872 are graphed for each state; and those with similar patterns are grouped together. Although the protest vote remains high in some agricultural regions, the tendency seems to be toward urban industrial areas. Some interpretations appear rather arbitrary; but, arguments aside, the authors could have made the sectional trends more easily comprehended by inserting an appropriately shaded map.

Two graphs relating farmer-labor ballots with the state of the economy document the common-sense notion that the protest vote fluctuates with economic distress.

The greatest value of this book lies in its assemblage of statistics relating to minor parties and materials from public opinion polls. Among the former are voting records in terms of numbers and percentages and a list of minor party representation in each Congress since 1860.

Public opinion information is drawn from Elmo Roper's *Fortune* polls. It reveals the not

very startling conclusion that satisfaction with the economic *status quo* and antipathy toward government intervention in economic affairs vary directly with one's position on the economic scale. More challenging is the conclusion that despite economic unrest there is relatively little dissatisfaction with the two major parties. This attitude on the part of people one would most expect to be attracted to protest movements constitutes one of the greatest obstacles to the success of new political parties. Additional hazards in the form of legal and financial barriers are excellently covered in a separate chapter.

To the advanced scholar of third party movements this small book offers little besides its charts and tables. But despite some careless errors in fact (e.g., congressional elections in 1897 and 1937, page 42; and Weaver as the Greenback candidate in 1884, page 51), it is a valuable introduction to the field and sheds much light on the political process and the continuation of the two-party system.

LEIGH W. HUNT, JR.

University of Minnesota

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WALTER LIPPMANN: A STUDY IN PERSONAL JOURNALISM. By David Elliott Weingast. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949. xx + 155 p. \$3.50.

David Weingast has done a service in studying Walter Lippmann's views on public questions, particularly as they were expressed in the latter's column, "Today and Tomorrow." Obviously such a study is far from definitive, for Mr. Lippmann is still educating us, and Mr. Weingast designedly touches very lightly on other important aspects of Mr. Lippmann's career. Some day we may hope to understand how serious was Mr. Lippmann's youthful flirtation with pre-1914 American socialism, and why he turned so quickly to Herbert Croly's brand of reform. We need at least as detailed a study of Mr. Lippmann's influence on American foreign policy, or at least his views thereon, from his work on the Fourteen Points through World War II. In the meantime we can all read Mr. Weingast's careful analysis and exposition, and Mr. Lippmann's column.

Unfortunately, occasionally Mr. Weingast's own value positions blur the otherwise excellent picture he is painting. Perhaps such obtrusion is inevitable in such a work—but it is still annoying.

Mr. Weingast cannot quite understand how Mr. Lippmann can advocate "liberal" principles and yet "gag" at much New Deal legislation; he suspects that Mr. Lippmann's "'liberalism' is a philosophic concept incapable of translation into reality" (p. 123). A simpler explanation is that it is a different form of "liberalism" from Mr. Weingast's and that Mr. Lippmann avails himself of the detached observer's right to advocate the principle while pointing out the imperfections of the results of legislative compromises. And I think that one can still be a "liberal" and yet not hold with Mr. Weingast that "the election victories of Mr. Roosevelt and, perhaps even more clearly, Mr. Truman's success in 1948, prove that the people evaluate issues and vote their convictions" (page 102). No doubt many do, perhaps not only Truman voters—but the election results afford to many of us something less than adequate proof of it.

Mr. Weingast detects "cynicism" in Mr. Lippmann's view that "rivalry, strife, and conflict 'among states, communities, and factions is the normal condition of mankind'" (p. 91). Some of us would hold that, in the life of human history—whatever one's personal *hopes* may be—Mr.

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Lippmann's view is merely sober realism. Readers of *The Federalist* will recall that James Madison would have agreed with Mr. Lippmann rather than with Mr. Weingast. Recognition of that condition by Mr. Madison was a starting point for the application of remedies which, with one notable exception, have worked remarkably well to direct aggressive impulses into non-warlike channels.

Mr. Weingast's work will be read with intellectual profit by students and teachers of United States history and of journalism, and by faithful readers of Mr. Lippmann's columns.

ROBERT E. KOEHANE

University of Chicago and
Shimer College

THE CONSTITUTIONAL WORLD OF MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER. By Samuel J. Konefsky. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. xviii + 325 p. \$4.50.

Would that one could easily separate this book by Dr. Konefsky from the judicial opinions by Mr. Justice Frankfurter. The book is well set-up and carefully planned according to a consistent

pattern. Not so much can be said for Justice Frankfurter's legal opinions. Professor Konefsky has neatly divided the Justice's cases into six headings, to wit: (a) Judicial Power Has Its Limitations, (b) Government and Economic Interests, (c) Problems of Federalism, (d) Freedom and Democracy, (e) Criminal Justice in America, and (i) Bureaucracy and Judicial Control. For each of the several cases quoted under each of the above divisions, Konefsky has given a brief, interesting, and succinct summary, including some background material. He then lets Justice Frankfurter speak for himself, which he proceeds to do with a rather amazing alacrity.

There can be no doubt but that the Justice is a very clever man, that he is a most facile operator in the area of legal gymnastics and semantic jousts. But one searches in vain through his webs of legalism and his flights of rhetoric for any underlying, dependable humanitarianism or basic philosophy. He takes the liberal stand in one case and the conservative in the next three or four, but always with his over-riding verbiage of legalistic fantasy.

If, as Emerson said, a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, then this learned

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jurist can never be suspected of having one of minuscule proportions. In one paragraph of his decisions one may find both deeply profound pronouncements and an almost childish whimsy. In one case Frankfurter says that courts are merely impartial, insignificant referees of the great human struggle—in another case that they are by far the most vital and important element in that struggle. In one case he upholds very sweeping powers for the National Labor Relations Board, but in another denies much smaller powers to the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. In several cases he staunchly insists on a firm separation of church and state; yet in another just as staunchly insists that the state can force a child to salute the American flag against his religious convictions.

The Justice also has a tendency to bend over backwards in allowing states to tamper with fundamental civil liberties. However, the record is not all bad. If one could carefully pick out only about one out of every four of Frankfurter's opinions, he might make him out as a truly great jurist in the Brandeis tradition. But taking them all, they add up to uncertainty and confusion, except for a more and more frequently recurring tendency toward reaction.

The book as a whole could do with more by Professor Konefsky and less by the loquacious Frankfurter. Particularly might it have been improved by offering more than one page of biography. It is always possible that Justice Frankfurter's life story might be more interesting than his judicial opinions, because he has, after all, reached the very highest pinnacle of a successful legal career.

This book is definitely not for high school students, nor for the average general reader. It will find its way onto the shelves of law school libraries, and may occasionally become required reading for classes in constitutional law.

DURWARD PRUDEN

New York University

SMALL TOWN RENAISSANCE. By Richard Waverly Poston. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. x + 231 p. \$3.00.

COMMUNITIES FOR BETTER LIVING. By James Dahir. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. xii + 321 p. \$4.00.

Readers will find in these small volumes a consistent effort to present convincing evidence of successes in community organization and plan-



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ning. Also, throughout these readable and stimulating pages, one finds implications that similar achievements can be attained in any community in which citizens exert a modicum of effort.

The volume by Mr. Poston presents the origin and development of the Montana Plan. Careful delineation is made of the opposition to the Plan by those who, through valid objections or because of indefensible self-interest, resorted to fair or to foul devices to prevent its fruition. This project was designed primarily for the development and enrichment of local communities in that state, especially those of less than 2,500 population. It provided a vehicle by which creative and intelligent action might be, and in some instances was, utilized to assist citizens to enjoy their primary associations, to improve the operation of their institutions, and thereby to gain mastery over their destiny.

Although Poston's book is confined to a consideration of the limited achievements of the Montana Study, Mr. Dahir's furnishes a summary of many efforts at community organization in different parts of the United States. In addition to many others, it encompasses the successes in community improvement from a review of the Farm-

ers' Union Hospital in Elk City, Oklahoma, to an overall community plan by the Columbia Community Council in upstate New York; from the efforts to develop rural areas in Kentucky to efforts of a comparable character in Arkansas. With imaginative insight, the successes in community planning in Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Omaha, and other cities are reviewed. This story is told so convincingly at times that readers may be assured that these cities have solved their problems of congestion, blight, poverty, and disease.

Like others of their kind, these books appeal to all in the local community who want to see the clouds of ignorance, self-interest, and smugness rolled back. They will be received enthusiastically by persons who believe and know that progress is attainable—that civic efficiency, safety, comfort, convenience, and sanitation are not gifts of the gods but products of good will, ingenuity, foresight, and intelligent sacrifice.

However, neither author gives specific information nor offers detailed suggestions on how community improvement is actually achieved. In the Montana Study the role of leadership—both individual and institutional—is consistently implied.

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However, there is no delineation of how it does or should emerge. Neither, as a basis of community improvement, do we find emphasis upon the importance of retaining and expanding population, without which any community is likely to be doomed.

It is true that Dahir recognizes that community improvement is derived from the "proper mingling of the people" as well as the "proper arrangement of the place." He fails to apply this to the cycle of boom town to ghost town which persists so wastefully in many communities of our country and which is represented so patently in the declining population each decade, of hundreds of towns, villages, and rural counties. Much of the clamor for community improvement will remain a hollow shell until residents learn how to avoid the tide of the "deserted" villages.

JOHN A. KINNEMAN

Illinois State Normal University

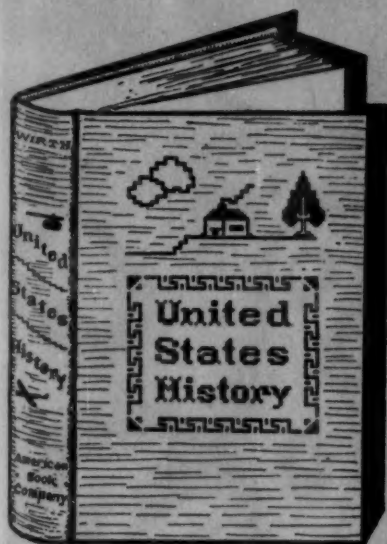
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